ACHAEMENID HISTORY • VI

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT: OLD CULTURES IN A NEW EMPIRE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRONINGEN 1988 ACHAEMENID HISTORY WORKSHOP

edited by

HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG and AMÉLIE KUHRT

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations . . . . VII-XI

Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg
INTRODUCTION . . . . XIII-XVIII

Margaret Cool Root
FROM THE HEART: POWERFUL PERSIANISMS IN THE ART OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE 1-29

Michael Vickers
PERSIAN, THRACIAN AND GREEK GOLD AND SILVER: QUESTIONS OF METROLOGY 31-39

Mauro Corsaro
GLI IONI TRA GRECI E PERSIANI: IL PROBLEMA DELL'IDENTITÀ IONICA NEL DIBATTITO CULTURALE E POLITICO DEL V SECOLO 41-55

Jack Balcer
THE EAST GREEKS UNDER PERSIAN RULE: A REASSESSMENT 57-65

Pierre Briant
DE SARDES À SUSE 67-82

N. Sekunda
ACHAEMENID SETTLEMENT IN CARIA, LYCIA AND GREATER PHRYGIA 83-143

Jan Zahle
ACHAEMENID INFLUENCES IN LYCIA (COINAGE, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE). EVIDENCE FOR POLITICAL CHANGES DURING THE 5TH CENT. B.C. 145-160

Thierry Petit
PRÉSENCE ET INFLUENCE PERSES À CHYPRE 161-178

H.T. Wallinga
POLYCRATES AND EGYPT: THE TESTIMONY OF THE *SAMAINA* 179-197

A. Lemaire
RECHERCHES D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARAMÉENNE EN ASIE MINEURE ET EN ÉGYPTE ET LE PROBLÈME DE L'ACCULTURATION 199-206

Jean-Francois Salles
DU BLÉ, DE L'HUILE ET DU VIN... (NOTES SUR LES ÉCHANGES COMMERCIAUX EN MEDITERRANÉE ORIENTALE VERS LE MILIEU DU 1er MILLÉNAIRE av. J.C.) . . 207-236

C. Tuplin
DARIUS' SUEZ CANAL AND PERSIAN IMPERIALISM . . 237-283

P. Calmeyer
ÄGYPTISCHER STIL UND REICHSACHAIMENIDISCHE INHALTE AUF DEM SOCKEL DER DAREIOS-STATUE AUS SUSA/HELIOPOLIS 285-303

Joseph Wiesehöfer
PRTRK, RB HYL', SGN UND MR'
ZUR VERWALTUNG SÜDÄGYPTENS IN ACHAIMENIDISCHER ZEIT 305-309

Philip Huyse
DIE PERSER IN ÄGYPTEN.
EIN ONOMASTISCHER BEITRAG ZU IHRER ERFORSCHUNG 311-320

Robert Morkot
NUBIA AND ACHAEMENID PERSIA: SOURCES AND PROBLEMS 321-336

Bibliography 337-367

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAAS	Annales Archéologiques Arabes de Syrie
AAs	Arts Asiatiques
AAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ABC	A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5), Locust Valley NY, 1975
ABV	J.D. Beazley, *Athenian Black Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1955
AC	L'Antiquité Classique.
AchHist I	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Achaemenid History* I. *Sources, structures and synthesis*, Leiden 1987
AchHist II	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* II. *The Greek sources*, Leiden 1987
AchHist III	A. Kuhrt & H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History* III. *Method and theory*, Leiden 1988
AchHist IV	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* IV. *Centre and periphery*, Leiden 1990
AchHist V	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & J.W. Drijvers (eds.), *Achaemenid History* V. *The roots of the European tradition*, Leiden 1990
ActArch	Acta Archaeologica
ActIr	Acta Iranica
AD	G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, abbr. and rev. ed., Oxford, 1957
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AfP	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
AIIN	Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
AMI Ergbd.10	H. Koch & D.N. Mackenzie (Hrsg.), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit* (AMI Ergänzungsband 10), Berlin 1983
AncW	The Ancient World
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Oxford-Princeton 1955^2 (1969^3)
AÖAW	Anzeiger der Österr. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil-Hist. Klasse
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago 1926-7
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Egypte.
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research

AthMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Athenische Abt.
BAH	Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
BAR	Biblical Archaeologist Reader
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BBV	Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BE	J. & L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden (Gr. Urkunden) aus den K. (ab Bd. 6 Staatl.) Museen zu Berlin, 1895ff.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher
BK	E. Bresciani & M. Kamil, 'Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Roma, 1966, Ser. VIII, 12/5, 356-428
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
BMC	A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, London
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BNF	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Bull.Met.Mus	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History.
CAP	*Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, ed. with Translation and Notes by A. Cowley, Oxford, 1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1967
CDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran
CdE	Chronique d'Egypte
CEFR	Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome
CHA	Cambridge History of Africa
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran
CHJ I	W.D. Davies & L. Finkelstein (eds.), *Cambridge History of Judaism*. 1: Introduction; The Persian Period, Cambridge 1984.
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CMO	Cahiers de la Maison de l'Orient
CPR	Corpus Papyrorum Raineri
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CSCA	California Studies in Classical Antiquity
DHA	Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne.
EA	*Les Lettres d'el-Amarna*, trad. W.L. Moran, trad. franç. D. Collon et H. Cazelles, (LAPO) Paris, 1987
EI	Eretz Israel
ESHG	Etudes Suisses d'Histoire Générale
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin/Leiden 1923-1958.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrten Anzeige

GM	Göttinger Miszellen
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
How-Wells	W.W. How & J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford 1912 [1928], 2 vols.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IES	Israel Exploration Society
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IOS	Israel Oriental Series
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua.
IstMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Abt. Istanbul
JA	Journal Asiatique
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JNES	Journal of Near East Studies.
JNG	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
J.S.	Journal des Savants
JSOR	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Toronto
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquity
K	*The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine*, ed. with a Historical Introduction by E.G. Kraeling, New Haven, 1953, repr. 1969
KAI	H. Donner & W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften (3 Bde)* 4.Aufl. Wiesbaden 1973-79
Keisan	J. Briend & J.-B. Humbert (éds.), *Tell Keisan (1971-1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Paris 1980
Kition II	G. Clerc *et al.*, *Kition* II: *Objets égyptiens et égyptisants; ..., sites I et II*, 1959-1975, Nicosia 1976
Kition III	M.G. Guzzo Amadasi, V. Karageorghis, *Kition* III: *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977
Kition V	V. Karageorghis & M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition.* V, *The Pre-Phoenician Levels*, Nicosia; Appendix V: C. Elliott: Ground Stone Tools from Kition Areas I and II, part II, 295-316
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LEC	Les Etudes Classiques
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes

MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Abt.Kairo
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, N.G.L. Hammond & H.H. Scullard (eds.), Oxford 1970^{2}.
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, ed. W. Dittenberger
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
Olive Oil	M. Heltzer, D.Etam (eds.), *Olive Oil in Antiquity. Israel and neighbouring countries*, (Conference Haifa 1987), Haifa
Or	Orientalia
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PF	Persepolis Fortification [tablets].
PFT	R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (OIP 92), Chicago 1969
PP	La Parola del Passato
PT	Persepolis Treasury [tablets].
QUCC	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica
RA	Revue Archéologique
RAL	Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accad. dei Lincei
RAss	Revue d'Assyriologie
RBi	Revue Biblique
RBPh	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
RE	Pauly's *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* hrsg. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1894ff.
REA	Revue des Etudes Anciennes.
REG	Revue des Etudes Grecques.
RES	Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique
RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica
RhM	Rheinisches Museum
RivBib	Rivista Biblica
RN	Revue Numismatique
RSN	Revue Suisse de Numismatique
RT	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
RTP	P. Briant, *Rois, Tributs et Paysans*, Paris 1982.
SAA II	S. Parpola, K. Watanabe, *State Archives of Assyria* II: *Neo-Assyrian treaties and loyalty oaths*, Helsinki 1988
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur

SAT	J.B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara with Some Fragments in Phoenician*, with Contributions by H.S. Smith, London, 1983
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten
SbÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österr. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl.
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali.
SDB	Dictionnaire du Bible. Supplément
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SGDI	Sammlungen der griechische Dialektinschriften, ed. H. Collitz u.a.
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPP	Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde
StIr	Studia Iranica.
Syll.	W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum
TAM	Tituli Asae Minoris
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TC	Tablettes Cappadociennes
TL	Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

INTRODUCTION

Old cultures in a new empire — it would be difficult to think of a more succinct way of formulating one of the central problems in the history of the Achaemenid empire. While it remains debatable to what degree the Achaemenids may have been able to adopt and develop existing state-structures on the Iranian plateau (Briant 1984a; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988; Brown 1988), there can be no doubt that the Persian empire as a whole represented above all a totally new political configuration of a size unheard of earlier. The Iranian ethos at the summit of the empire, Iranian traditions relating to king and aristocracy must have had — indeed, did have — an effect on the style and manner in which life was conducted within the conquered territories. But it is important to remember that these newly subjected regions were not blank pages on which the new imperial regime was the only one to make its mark. While it would be an exaggeration to say that the victor was vanquished by the cultures which were incorporated into the empire, the conquerors were clearly not unaffected by the results of conquest as shown particularly clearly by the case of Babylonia (Kuhrt 1987; 1990). The Persian period represents a new era in the history of the Near East because the arena, within which Mesopotamia had conducted its intensive interrelations with adjacent regions previously, was suddenly enormously enlarged and came to include lands, such as Egypt and Asia Minor, whose cultural and economic development had until then been relatively autonomous. Due to a shift of focus in recent years, the relations between the East and archaic Greece have been receiving more positive attention so that they are now studied more from the perspective of a two-way process of acculturation and mutual influence: the question is no longer 'what elements were original, which ones should be seen as derivative?' but rather 'within what contexts did these particular forms come into being?' Acculturation is normally, after all, a complex process of interaction, reception and reaction. The question of 'origin' and 'originality' is, in many ways, very similar to the Greek quest for *protoi heuretai* and should now be discarded as obsolete. What should be stressed is that the process of cultural and economic encounters which are traceable in the centuries before the Persian period, increased enormously in momentum in the late sixth and especially the fifth centuries. This was the time when it was reinforced by a large, coherent political structure in the shape of the Persian empire which, however enigmatic its precise mechanisms may seem to us at times, must have had the effect of intensifying and consolidating the existing cultural and commercial exchange-systems.

The Persian empire has for a considerable time been regarded as the quintessential oriental monarchy: whole populations kept in silent servitude, high-ranking governors playing individual power-games while amassing wealth and gaining influence through cunning intrigues, foreign diplomats in quest of personal favours or funding, one and all at the mercy of an all-powerful king and his court. It is largely through the work of Pierre Briant (cf. esp. 1987) that scholars are now more ready to understand the Persian empire as a multi-layered structure with each strand closely interrelated to all the others. In earlier workshops the attempt was made to explore questions relating to the working of the empire. Thus the aim of the 1986 workshop (*AchHist IV*) was to investigate the impact of the Persian empire on most of the countries included within it as well as some of the frontier and neighbouring regions. But in the course of organising it and preparing the introductory note for participants, it became clear, that it would be impossible to include Asia Minor and Egypt in such a treatment. As documentation for these sections of the empire is far more abundant and dense, certain continuing processes could be studied in considerably greater depth than in other regions, including the important Babylonian satrapy. It was, therefore, decided to omit Asia Minor and Egypt from the 1986 survey of the empire and to devote an entire workshop to these two areas.

Despite the fact that the whole of the 1988 meeting was spent excusively on these two regions, it would be misleading to claim that the subject was discussed in anything approaching exhaustive detail. A particularly serious handicap in this respect has proved to be the difficulty in persuading Egyptologists to interest themselves in the period of Persian rule of Egypt. In order to arrive at a balanced perspective it is essential that the Persian period in Egypt be studied not only from the vantage point of the empire but also in the context of Egyptian cultural and social continuity. It seems that this period of Egypt's history is still very much the stepchild within Egyptological research. Yet in earlier workshops Ray (1987; cf. also 1988), Briant (1988a), Lloyd (1988a) have all provided surveys and analyses of problems that could well be taken further. Some headway has, and is, being made: Cruz-Urribe has now published his work on the Hibis temple at Khargeh oasis (1988) and the Egypt Exploration Society continues its major work at the site of Memphis,[1] while Thompson (1988) has produced a lively study of Ptolemaic Memphis which may prove helpful in providing another angle from which to approach Egypt in the immediately preceding periods and Rathbone (1989), who in his study focussed on Graeco-Roman Egypt, has made some stimulating points relating to the continuities from earlier periods.

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[1] We would like to thank Dr. Cruz-Uribe for making part of his manuscript in preparation available to the workshop for discussion. We must also acknowledge David Jeffries' kindness in letting us see a report of recent work at Memphis.

In Asia Minor the situation is rather better. Starr's two articles (1976; 1977) were the first to direct attention to the interaction between the indigenous and Ionian Greek populations with the Persians in Asia Minor; but since this major study new documents have been found, new interpretations of existing material suggested and new questions asked. Although it cannot be denied that the material as a whole is still very scrappy, it nevertheless provides a good opportunity for gaining a better insight into the imperial mechanisms: i.e. in what respects did these affect the life of the subject populations? conversely, how was the imperial structure and the ruling class affected by intimate contact with the conquered? In considering this question, however, one runs the grave risk of being trapped within a hellenocentric perspective — a danger that is particularly great in considering this region given our extant narrative sources and Euro-centric training but one of which the workshop participants are well aware as it has frequently been a point of discussion in the past (cf. *AchHist* I; *AchHist* II). In the case of artefactual remains from this area in particular, a question that is both tricky and loaded, needs careful consideration: How do we distinguish between what is Persian and what is Greek? On what basis are these distinctions arrived at and what do we envisage when we plump for one or other identification? This question is adressed by Margaret Root in the first article of this volume, arguing that the definition of objects as Greek or Persian reflects, not infrequently our cultural bias and aesthetic prejudices. Classifying objects produced within the empire in this way is determined by a hierarchy of aesthetic categories which actively impedes our understanding of the way imperial structure and artistic production interacted both in the centre and the more peripheral regions. One of Root's major contentions is that forms that were the result of Persian interaction with Greek subjects have often not been recognised or mislabelled as purely Greek art. Michael Vickers' contribution bears out this approach: he investigates the weights of a number of precious metal vessels that have been found in hoards and listed in Greek temple inventories. The measures used make more sense when calculated on a Persian standard which produces round figures rather than awkward fractions. This demonstrates that our instinctive use of Greek criteria when calculating weights is often inappropriate.

An interesting question arising from the study of Asia Minor in the Persian period is how precisely Persian rule affected the political and economic life of Ionia: why precisely did the Ionians revolt in 499? Mauro Corsaro discusses the emergence of an Ionian identity which he sees as the direct product of the political debate taking place in the fifth century on the Greek mainland, while Jack Balcer focusses on Ionian economic development. His study of the numismatic evidence of the late sixth and fifth centuries has led him to conclude that it does not indicate a sharp economic decline in the early fifth century. Rather, any deterioration that did take place should be related to Athenian imperial interference in the internal affairs of the Ionian cities. His tentative conclusion, therefore, is that the Ionian revolt was triggered by the loss of cultural freedom not an economic slump. What still requires analysis, however, is how far cultural life can be regarded as existing separately from the socio-economic structures in which it is embedded.

The next four contributions might best be described as micro-studies of particular regions or aspects. Briant examines the evidence for the Royal Road, one of the vital imperial arteries linking Sardis with Susa. Evidence for its use as part of a commercial network, particularly for long-distance trade is practically non-existent so that its primary purposes must have been military. Thus the equation *Pax Achaemenidica* with flourishing and extensive trading activities may be too facile. Sekunda pursues his investigation of traces of the Achaemenid presence in Asia Minor (cf. *AchHist* III) by extending his research into Lycia, Caria and Greater Phrygia. The onomastic, archaeological and epigraphic evidence can yield indications of Iranian settlement, although the material, which dates from varying periods and often very long after the end of the empire, remains difficult to interpret in terms of its social, economic, political and cultural implications. Zahle's contribution challenges the traditional classification of Lycian coins proposed by Mørkholm. His analysis suggests that in the second part of the fifth century internal political strife in Lycia is reflected by the coins and coin-standards used, with one group siding with the Athenian empire, the other affiliating itself to the Persian one. Interpreting the archaeological evidence in terms of political configurations outlined by the written sources is always a hazardous undertaking, as Petit argues in his article on Cyprus in the Persian period. This problem, particularly the relationship between archaeological material and its modern interpretations, had already formed the subject of Wiesehöfer's contribution to an earlier workshop (*AchHist* IV). Petit pursues it further, arguing that while there are abundant traces of Iranian influence on the island one should beware of evaluating these too simplistically. It is important to remember that internal Cypriot developments also contributed to shaping relations with the Persians. An interesting point raised by both Zahle's and Petit's contributions is that local political conditions, internal rivalries and regional competition have been too often ignored: the dynamics of the Persian imperial system was not simply the factor shaping political relationships at the local level, it must itself have been influenced by them.

While the theme of the workshop may appear to sugest that Asia Minor and Egypt were quite separate regions of the empire, the close and long-standing interconnections between the two should not be neglected. The eastern Mediterranean functioned to link the two regions rather than separate them, a link strenghtened by their membership of the Persian empire. The three contributions by Wallinga, Lemaire and Salles are all studies of tiny scraps of evidence, demonstrating that a close study of such minutiae can lead to important modifications of our overall picture. Wallinga reconsiders the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean before the Persian conquest of Egypt and, by means of a technical study of the ship known as the *samaina*, is able to show that Polycrates' reputation as a powerful tyrant is only meaningful in the Greek world of small state politics and ignores the larger political framework of the eastern Mediterranean. Within this latter he occupied the position of a "pawn on a chess-board, where mightier pieces dominated the game". Lemaire presents a series of observations on Aramaic documents from Egypt and Asia Minor. The new readings proposed throw into relief the process of acculturation between ruler and ruled, with the Persians actively supporting local cults in Egypt and recruiting local dynasts in Cilicia some of whom adopted additional Persian names. Salles' discussion focusses on the trading of three basic commodities (wine, grain, olive-oil) in the eastern Mediterranean. The attention paid by historians and archaeologists to long-distance and international commerce has tended to obscure small-scale regional and interregional exchange. Such networks may be identified by closer study of the less spectacular pottery, an analysis he plans to take further in the 1990 workshop.

The evidence for Darius I's rebuilding of the canal at Suez is the subject of Tuplin's exhaustive study. Despite the absence of any evidence for dating a possible visit by Darius I to open the completed canal, he argues strongly in favour of seeing the canal construction as an important affirmative action forming part of the Achaemenid policy of continuation and emulation of pharaonic enerprises. This is particularly persuasive as nothing indicates that the canal was ever important commercially. Calmeyer analyses the intertwining of Egyptian and Persian artistic motifs on the basis of the Darius statue from Susa, identifying traditional Egyptian, Near Eastern as well as later elements that were adapted to express imperial propaganda. Wiesehöfer's study concentrates on the interaction of a number of officials in Upper Egypt on the basis of the Elephantine material and puts forward a new hypothesis for understanding the judicial hierarchy there. The elusive and potentially misleading onomastic evidence for the Persian presence in Egypt is examined by Huyse, whose main conclusion is that the spatially uneven distribution of Persian names in Ptolemaic Egypt could suggest that the Nile delta was never under tight Persian control. Morkot's contribution on the neglected subject of Nubia in the Persian period rounds off the volume. He makes a strong case for seeing the evidence adduced to argue for a Nubian political dependence on Persia as expressive of ceremonial exchanges of tokens of friendship between the kings of Persia and those of Nubia.

It is difficult to draw any general conclusions from these very diverse studies. But one promising result does emerge, namely that intensive investigations and close analysis of regional developments reveal that behind the imperial facade, the different areas retained to a large degree their individual, traditional structures and that the small-scale trading networks may well have been more significant than the long distance trade that is usually assumed to have flourished under the prevailing *pax Achaemenidica.*

Finally, we should like to thank all those who made this workshop possible. Financial support was received from the Faculty of Arts of Groningen University and by the Groningen Universiteits Fonds. A major session of the meeting was enjoyably chaired by Henk Versnel for which we express our thanks here. The local organisation was run very capably by Jan Willem Drijvers, helped by Jenny Scholten and Coen van der Kroon to all of whom we owe a debt of gratitude.

Amélie Kuhrt
History Department
University College

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg
Vakgroep Oude Geschiedenis
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

FROM THE HEART: POWERFUL PERSIANISMS IN THE ART OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE*

Margaret Cool Root — Ann Arbor

This paper focuses on art historical issues relating to our understanding of Achaemenid Persian impact on the western reaches of its empire. I shall outline some historiographic difficulties that have impeded research on this subject as well as some intrinsic particularities of the Achaemenid context that have exacerbated these difficulties. I shall then briefly discuss a small group of seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets that may help to redirect our inquiry. The thrust of this section will be to assert the significance within the art of the western periphery of modes of representational expression emanating from the imperial centre.

I. *The Politics of Meagreness*

Commentary on the Persian empire in the west tends to stress the very feebleness of discernible impact of Persian culture on the conquered areas. This is a *Leitmotiv* even of scholarship that offers much insightful analysis of the interplay between Persia and the western zones of imperial control. Thus, for instance, E.D. Francis has stated:

> I wish to elaborate the proposition that, apart from a long list of luxury items and articles of personal attire — jewelry, gold and silver, glass, rich textiles, which represent the furnishings of the satrapal courts — apart from such items, Persian presence was restricted to matters of regional planning and urban design, and in urban design to the building of palaces and parks in the environment of water (Francis 1980, 68).

Oft-voiced assessments of meagre impact come in a variety of formats and rhetorical dressing. Ultimately, such characterizations both reflect and serve the underlying Hellenocentric biases of an approach to the Achaemenid empire that is deeply engrained in our academic tradition (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987). I shall not, however, be so concerned here with the overarching

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historiographic problem of Hellenocentrism as with some specific *implications* of this problem in research on the artistic environment and material record relating to Persian control in the western empire.

Scholars who have a basically sympathetic approach to the Near East tend to clarify the apparent phenomenon of low Persian visibility and hence low impact in the west through common reference to a generally accepted characterization of the imperial attitude. The low impact is seen as the result of the Persians' attitude of cultural tolerance and accommodation to local traditions — an attitude that is acknowledged prominently in the history handbooks (e.g. Gray 1969, 186-188). For certain others, the apparent low visibility acquires a more negative explanation. Their discussions tend to describe (either explicitly or implicitly) an empire ruled by a dynasty which had no traditions of its own and had no significant cultural values or art forms worth imposing — even if it had the moral authority to do so (which of course it did not!). An extraordinary example of this posture occurs in Bengtson's work. Here the imagery of Achaemenid rule as a shadow over the west evokes the notion of a dark and gloomy aura, oppressive yet without tangible substance:

> ...we cannot ignore the dark shadows that developed even in Darius' day — shadows that grew deeper the longer the empire existed. Without any doubt, the Persian concept of the sovereign and his relation to his subjects was quite incompatible with the western, and in particular, with the Greek ideal of freedom. For the Great King, all his subjects, irrespective of station or origin, were in the final analysis his slaves; and it is certainly not by chance that not a single one of the aides of Darius stands out clearly in the Persian tradition (Bengtson 1968, 18-19).

We shall return to this quote somewhat later. For now it is enough to say, however, that the perspective it offers is a complete dead end.

The first stance, on the other hand, is problematic; but it does offer a potentially productive challenge in its explanation of an apparent dearth of Persian cultural impact on the western empire as one inevitable result of a culturally tolerant and laissez faire attitude on the Persians' part. One problematic aspect lies in the very vagueness of typical allusion to Persian accommodation. Even though it is describing a positive feature, it tends, paradoxically, to add fuel to negatively weighted interpretations of the empire. Implicitly, the Persians' tolerance acquires hints of a quality borne of indifference, passivity and weakness; a tolerance without a strategy behind it that might in itself be considered an element of political style and impact. We can feel the undercurrent of negative interpretation of what 'accommodation' and 'tolerance' really must mean to some scholars. Note, for instance, a curious passage in Francis' afore-cited commentary where the author is describing what can be learned about Persian impact in the west through the 'Graeco-Persian' seals:

> Sometimes the subjects are strongly hellenized, at others, they are strictly Persian. In many instances, the stylistic vocabulary of the Near East, for example, in terms of foreshortening of the flying gallop, is clearly maintained: after all, these objects were primarily designed for Persian clients. Thus, out of tact for the customer, when Persian fights Greek, the Greek falls dead. Elsewhere we see a Persian pigtail, but the pose, the nudity, and the subject of the seal is hard-core Ionian, a single image that summarizes the whole genre. And, as a pendant, this is perhaps the occasion to mention that the Persians are also said to have learned pederasty at Greek hands (Francis 1980, 68).

Herodotus' remark (I 135) about Persian readiness to adopt foreign customs, including pederasty, is marshalled here in support of a presumably earnest attempt to elucidate the qualities of Persian patronage in the western empire. The effect of the commentary by innuendo is to present a scenario of sponge-like Persians absorbing Greeknesses indiscriminately (with a predilection for the off-color) while having nothing artistically significant to impart in return.

For the sake of discussion, let me propose a different way of thinking about the causes of the apparent deficit in material manifestations of Persian control. Let us consider the possibility that the apparently unimposing impact of Persian culture on the western empire was a reflection of the success of a deliberate, assertive central *policy* — as opposed to a vaguely defined 'tolerant attitude'. This policy might have sought to play down the conspicuous presence of Persian power in the provinces on a variety of social/cultural levels.

At the highest level, we are all familiar with the notion of an Achaemenid tendency toward royal support of and participation in indigenous manifestations of kingship and cult in conquered lands. Recently, this general perception of imperial *attitude* has been given clearer shape and articulation as *political policy* through the work of P. Briant (e.g. Briant 1986c). We are also familiar as a generalized notion with the Achaemenid practice of honoring regional identity and tradition on the level of language and (presumably) internal administrative system. Again, this aspect of Achaemenid imperial practice has recently been discussed in ways that achieve a more finely tuned understanding of the societal and administrative mechanisms that simultaneously permitted and reinforced the effectiveness of this mode of centre-periphery control. Increasingly we are led to see the Achaemenid imperial situation as the reflection of a deeply engrained and more or less systematically applied policy orientation; a policy orientation borne not of torpor — but of ideologically supported systems of relationships (e.g. Briant 1987; Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987; Holm-Rasmussen 1988). It now begins to appear, furthermore, that this ideology may have been active even under the reign of Xerxes — whose reputation has previously flourished as a harsh destroyer-king (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987, 69-78).

All of this conforms quite well to Eisenstadt's characterization of operating modes between centre and periphery in Weberian 'patrimonial' kingdoms (Weber 1922, 679 ff):

> ...in most of these societies the distinctiveness of the center was not connected with attempts at a structural and ideological transformation of the periphery or with effecting far-reaching changes in the periphery's basic conception of social order.
> ... The center impinged upon the local (rural, urban or tribal) communities, mainly in the form of administration of law, attempts to maintain peace, exaction of taxation and maintenance of some cultural and/or religious links to the center. But, with very few exceptions, most of these links were effected through the existing local kinship — territorial and/or ritual — units and subcenters. These links were mostly of rather 'external' and adaptive character, and they did not attempt to create new structural channels which would undermine, as was the case with imperial systems, the existing social and cultural patterns of either the center or the periphery (Eisenstadt 1979, 23).

In fact, the Achaemenid system seems a strikingly valid example of this 'patrimonial' model in its externalized mode of policy orientation toward the periphery — while the Assyrian empire does not (viz. Liverani 1979, 308ff).

Let us look at one example of ideologically supported policy transformed into practice: the case of local language usage for centrally emanating policy statements. In the Achaemenid empire the issue of edicts in local languages for dissemination far and wide surely had positive *symbolic* as well as pragmatic value in the administration of so vast and polyglot a realm. The very fact that Darius' Behistun inscription boasts of this procedure suggests its symbolic value within a strongly centre-oriented rhetorical strategy — a rhetorical strategy that was evident, I suggest, as a *Leitmotiv* of the entire text. This strategy emphasizes the re-centring of control in the wake of local rebellions. In the main body of the text, a litany of 'go forths' is proclaimed. Darius either goes forth himself (conceptually from centre outward) or sends a general forth in his place to quell a local uprising. This repeated expression of power-assertion, bursts out in all critical directions from the heart of the empire (as this is embodied in the royal person or in his personal commands).

The outward-directed assertion of power is then resolved by a reverse movement that flushes the rebels centreward into a vortex of authority. This reverse movement of resolution *reintegrates* the expended energies of externally directed power. In DB IV, the symbolically, rather than historically, ordered summary passage, the essential reintegration is explained in words that parallel the accompanying relief (Root 1979, 182-226, esp. 186-192):

> Saith Darius the King: These IX kings I took prisoner within these battles. Saith Darius the King: These are the provinces which became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, so that these (men) deceived the people.

> Afterwards Ahuramazda put them into my hand; as was my desire, so I did unto them (Kent 1953, 131).

The convening of the Lie-followers to receive their just deserts, brought by the god from the disrupted points on the periphery straight to the heart of stable authority, is the symbolically and ideologically essential act that restores the security of the empire. Interestingly, the Behistun text is totally focused on the removal of *specific* Lie-following individual personalities. It does not describe vendettas against local populations (as distinct from rebellious armies), cities, geographical regions, institutions, or monuments. In this sense, the rhetoric of our one Achaemenid 'historical' text establishes an elegant backdrop in primary Persian source material for the apparent meagreness of clear archaeological evidence of Persian imperial presence in the form of razed citadels and Persianized post-destruction rebuilding. A well-known passage in the Behistun text reaffirms this basic sense of a policy that was unabashedly patrimonial and unabashedly concerned with control focused on *personal* links of loyalty and cooperation bonding centre and periphery rather than with institutional restructuring and homogenizing:

> Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house, him I rewarded well; whoso did injury, him I punished well (Kent 1953, 132).

After the reintegrative summary statement that I have just discussed, the Behistun text includes a brief but important message that again *externalizes* the power of the king and the imperial centre. This is the passage that proclaims the importance of disseminating the story of the re-centring of power right back out in all directions and in all the necessary modes of written communication used locally throughout the empire. The ability to achieve this centre-emanating task may have been considered a critical symbol and tool of assertive *cooptive* authority. In general, the Achaemenid practice of putting centre-emanating edicts in regional languages might be interpreted in two divergent ways. On one side it may suggest (to some) a lack of initiative to restructure, a lack of initiative to recode the conquered domain. On another side, however, it may suggest the ultimate power. To know the subjects' languages, to cast the heartland edicts in those languages, is to say 'I know all of you; I have infiltrated an essential vehicle of your cultures and I am henceforth using it as a vehicle for the exercise of my control over you.' In a rather similar way, I suspect that there was something essentially and systematically cooptive going on in the formulation of the Achaemenid artistic programme. This programme achieved modes of visual expression that could produce resonances with local traditions while actually presenting thoroughly Achaemenid ideologies of control and imperial order (Root 1979, esp. 147-153 — on the image of supporters of the king). This practice of multi-language communication was surely an element in an Achaemenid conception of empire that did not see the necessity of changing the face (or the language) of the world in order to control its resources. In fact, much of the visual and literary rhetoric of official Achaemenid doctrine (extending well beyond the one event-oriented text of Behistun) seems to have stressed very deliberately a unity out of distinctive parts — distinctive parts that were assertively portrayed (Root 1990).

This is a rather different idea than that of a cultural pan-Persianism in a homogenized world empire. The latter attitude toward control has, of course, been attributed to Alexander and the Diadochi — at least according to some portrayals — in the form of a vision of pan-Hellenism as a correlate of power. But I think it did not apply to Cyrus and his successors. Indeed, a basic problem may be revealed by this comparison. We perhaps frequently err in a tacit assumption that the Achaemenids would have liked to assert a policy of pan-Persianism — retrofitting the popular, but not wholly tenable, notion of the pan-Hellenic goals of Alexander and the Diadochi; but they did not, alas, have a culture that could rise to the challenge. It is interesting to note as an aside here that even the pan-Hellenism ascribed to the Seleucids seems actually to have been laced with elements of continuity from Achaemenid conceptions of imperial policy (Sherwin-White 1987).

At any rate, the central imperial policy of the Achaemenids exerted its powerful force in a direction that was dynamic — but not at all in the sense of aiming toward a goal of cultural pan-Persianism. Its pragmatic goals involved military power and the control of vast resources and wealth. Its symbolic methods of facilitating these goals involved a rhetoric of unity in the maintenance and even nourishment of cultural diversity.

This Achaemenid conception of imperial strategy and character may well have contributed significantly to the minimizing of identifiably Achaemenid vestiges of cult paraphernalia and architecture in the western regions. In theory, the Achaemenid kings may have required a low Persian profile from their deputies installed at administrative headquarters in the west. There may have been (in theory) a systematic, centrally-ordained policy of assimilation with indigenous elites practiced by Achaemenid officials abroad. Such a situation could have resulted in the de-emphasis of conspicuous Persianisms of architecture and even of portable goods in favor of the adaptation of cultural mores and accoutrements of the indigenous people. The implications for the archaeological record would be predictable: low retrieval of recognizably Achaemenid monuments and artifacts.

Seen as the result of a consciously applied strategy of governance, a low archaeological yield could be interpreted as an index of the vitality of the central authority in carrying out its mandate. In short, low yield of archaeologically retrievable signs of political presence/dominance can suggest various possibilities about the relationship between intrusive culture and host culture. The relationship need not have been one embodying cultural weakness on either side (Trigger 1974). And in theory there are interesting alternative ways of interpreting any dearth of material testimony of Persian presence. These alternatives do not force us to assume that traditions of Persian art (and culture more generally) tried and failed in a competition for popularity in the workshops and markets (either economic or metaphorically social) of the western imperial holdings.

Having suggested a revised (and positive) explanation for the meagreness of Persian impact on the art and architecture of the western empire, I should now like to turn the tables completely and suggest that we reassess the basic operational cliché, to wit: The Persians left little cultural mark in the west in part, at least, because their attitude of tolerance did not necessitate the replacement of indigenous structures and objects with Persian-type monuments and paraphernalia. The restatement that I propose is as follows: A series of factors have combined to minimize the archaeologically retrievable record of Persian cultural presence in the western empire. Given the combined enormity of these factors, the record of their presence is actually remarkable. Furthermore, in certain manifestations this record of presence is suggestive of multi-level social interactions that deserve closer scrutiny.

One major factor contributing to the *apparent* meagreness of the archaeological record may have been the successful exercise of imperial strategy and ideology as described above. This factor, I submit, is possibly a rather significant one that reflects a real ancient situation. Broadly speaking, I do see, however, five additional factors that reflect more upon the academic *us* than upon the ancient Persian *them*. These five overlapping factors have combined to create and perpetuate the cliché of low Persian presence in/cultural impact on the western imperial territories. The first three factors relate to imported Persian material or locally made Persian-type material. The last two factors relate to hybrid art found in the west that exhibits Persianisms and also indigenous elements.

(1) Problems in the archaeological retrieval of Persian material in the west;
(2) Negatively presented quantification of the Persian material that has been retrieved;
(3) Miscategorized works of portable art of Achaemenid type in numerous collections;
(4) Misappropriated monumental art claimed as major examples of a purely Greek repertoire even though exhibiting important features reflecting the impact of Achaemenid society and/or art forms;
(5) Uncritical categorization of large numbers of art works as 'Graeco-Persian'.

(1) *Archaeological retrieval*

It is well known that Persian levels have rarely been a priority of excavations in the west. Furthermore, the important regional administrative centres were the loci of pre-established sites of strategic and political significance, with architectural complexes in some cases available for uninterrupted transition to the service of the Great King. Many of these same sites were also important in the administration of the later Hellenistic kings. Their building programmes destroyed much evidence for the environment of the Persian elite posted in the west.

Thus, no real understanding has yet been achieved of what any of the satrapal palaces looked like (Hanfmann 1975, 17). Although architectural elements inspired by official Achaemenid forms (such as animal protome capitals) have been found in the west, these hints of the existence of provincial echoes of Susa and Persepolis remain muted because of their unfortunate contextual isolation (von Mercklin 1962, 27-30, 194-197). The satrapal parks and formal gardens alluded to in classical sources may have been a primary transference of Persian cultural form to the western arena (Hanfmann 1975, 16-17). But here we are confronting a most elusive medium in terms of the probabilities of archaeological retrieval at continuously inhabited, complexly stratified sites. Pasargadae — in part due to its limited occupational history — is a rare treasure indeed for preserving remnants of its formal gardens (Stronach 1978, 107-112).

Finally, the factor of the ephemeral nature of characteristic Persian court luxury items needs to be mentioned. The precious metal jewelry and tableware as well as the robes and hangings of woven fabric that we hear so much about in the classical sources were particularly vulnerable to the ravages of man on the one hand and the environment on the other. We could not have high hopes of recovering many such items from a controlled context even were we to excavate an otherwise well-preserved satrapal palace of promisingly Persian architectural form. Again, the Pasargadae hoard is a rarity (Stronach 1978, 173). This is an important point: There is a striking rarity of retrieved Persian luxury goods from controlled excavations even in the heartland — where our classical sources describe the hiding of quantities of gold beyond imagining (Cahill 1985, 374-375; de Callatay 1989). It is an archaeological truism that gold and silver treasure will survive in quantity for retrieval at a site only in exceptional situations. Against this backdrop we must view the fifteen silver and two gold bracelets found at Vouni in Cyprus, for instance, as a significant phenomenon (Gjerstadt 1937, 238f.). A rich corpus of ivory and wood fragments of the Persian Period, found in Egypt, likewise hints at what has *not* been preserved of these fragile materials especially from other, less conducive climates (Stucky 1985, 7-32).

Lower down on the social scale, we need to learn more, through excavation and surface exploration, about Persian garrisons in the west: their formal characteristics and what they can reveal concerning the lifestyle of the military personnel quartered in them. Recent finds of Persepolitan-type relief sculpture from an outpost in Asia Minor vividly suggest the importance of acknowledging that such garrisons could be vehicles of centre-reinforcing representational imagery (Davesne, Lemaire, Lozachmeur 1987). Again, however, as things stand currently, archaeological priorities and politically-exerted inhibitions do not combine well to yield the likelihood of much systematic search for frontier military installations.

(2) *Negative quantification of retrieved material*

P.R.S. Moorey has produced an indispensable region-by-region compendium of Persian-type artifacts found within the territory of the Persian empire (Moorey 1980). Precisely because it is such an important work, I take the liberty of using it to demonstrate a point. Moorey's detailed and often subtly nuanced analysis of the record of Persian impact clothes a conceptual armature of negative quantification. Overarching introductory and concluding statements stress the *meagreness* of the archaeological record of Persian rule. Similarly, discussions of specific (and in many cases extremely exciting) material are often preceded by remarks that suggest their quantitative insignificance, e.g: "The luxury goods which denote a Persian presence elsewhere in the Empire are also found here [Palestine]; but not in any significant numbers" (Moorey 1980, 133).

With relatively little effort, this entire monograph could be recast in positive terms. The exercise would reveal extraordinarily interesting directions for research on the material record that Moorey has so meticulously and learnedly assembled and documented. I am proposing a rhetorical redirection that might in turn spawn productive modes of substantive redirection. For example, tantalizing vestiges of animal protome capitals characteristic of the imperial architecture of Susa and Persepolis are known from Asia Minor, the Levant and Cyprus, as I have already noted above. One way of stating this is to stress the quantitative meagreness of these finds, e.g.: '*Only* X fragmentary examples of animal capitals have ever been found outside the heartland sites of the Persian empire. This reinforces the impression already gained, to the effect that the Persians exerted little impact on forms of expression in the western part of the empire.' A rhetorical redirection of that statement would, instead, stress positive elements, e.g.: 'X fragments of addorsed animal capitals of Persian type have been retrieved from Asia Minor, the Levant, and Cyprus. These architectural remains deserve serious study as vestiges of structures apparently designed in the western periphery in emulation of forms which epitomize official Achaemenid architecture at the heart of the empire.'

(3) *Miscategorized works of portable art*

Sometimes unwittingly and sometimes knowingly, many works of Achaemenid Persian art found in the west are miscategorized. It is not uncommon, for instance, to encounter an Achaemenid Persian seal that has been labeled 'Mesopotamian', 'Chaldaean', or 'Assyrian' — especially in collections catalogued long ago. This problem exists not only for material from the western empire, but also for some Persian seals in mainland Greek collections — purported to have been local finds. M.B. Garrison has made some preliminary headway on the identification of miscategorized Persian seals in such assemblages. More insidious is the problem of Persian material that is subsumed under the rubric of Greek art in museum displays and in publications. This has happened recently, for instance, with regard to a series of quintessentially (assuming they are genuine) Persian metal vessels classified as 'Greek' (von Bothmer 1984, e.g. 25, nos.18-19). The characterization of how these 'Greek' luxury vessels came to look the way they look is perplexing to say the least:

> On pages 24 to 45 our archaic East Greek silver is introduced, an assembly of over fifty vases and utensils that have been acquired patiently over the course of fifteen years. The many different objects were evidently made by Ionian craftsmen for rich clients on the eastern periphery of Greece at a time (before the Persian conquest of Asia Minor) when Greek culture flourished on both sides of the Aegean Sea, and when Greek workmanship was appreciated as far east as Persepolis. Some of the objects show eastern, even Persian, taste and Persian motifs were freely borrowed ... Persian connections are also evident on a silver-gilt phiale (no. 18) that portrays the great king marching to the left between each lobe and on another (no. 19), somewhat smaller, that shows the Persian king killing a lion (von Bothmer 1984, 6-8).

One might question the chronology of a pre-Persian Asia Minor that was nevertheless contemporaneous with Persepolis, and was producing representations of Persian kings in canonical Persepolis court style of ca. 500 B.C. and later. But more problematic for us in this context is the blatant skewing of the artifactual record that has been preserved in a manner that systematically deemphasizes the quantitative presence of Persian art and the impact of Persian culture and societal values in the western reaches of the empire — simply by calling the material 'Greek'.

Along related but more legitimate lines, the case of Persian imperial coinage presents an interesting problem. The issues of the Great King, showing an archer in Persian royal regalia, find their place in the major handbooks on Greek coinage (e.g. Kraay 1976, 31-34). This is understandable on two counts. First, it is generally acknowledged that Persian imperial coinage relates, in terms of monetary development, to a tradition of exchange emerging out of Lydia rather than heartland Persia. Second, the hoard distribution of these coins has suggested (despite ample testimonia to the vast stores of gold coin at Susa and Persepolis found by Alexander) that they were intended exclusively for circulation in the west. These reasons behind the grouping of Persian coinage as a part of the history of Greek coinage notwithstanding, the phenomenon has had an unfortunate result. It has muted the fact that this coinage was, in a very real sense, *an official imperial Persian product retrieved in the west.* I shall return to the problem of Persian coinage in the second section of this paper.

(4) *Misappropriated Monumental Art*

Another factor contributing to the perceived lack of an adequate material record in the west is even less generally appreciated. Many monuments which ought to be considered as evidence of Persian artistic presence/impact have been appropriated by the modern west and have been embraced as part of the central core of what we call 'Greek art' and what we teach in our universities as prime masterpieces of the classical tradition.

The painting prototype for the Alexander mosaic exemplifies the phenomenon. It is thought of as a precious record of fourth century Greek monumental painting. And indeed, in terms of techniques of artistic production, this is proper enough. Nylander has argued cogently, however, for the idea that in terms of message and emotive meaning the prototype was, nevertheless, very much a monument about and for a late fourth century patron with intimate Persian connections (Nylander 1982). The focus of the representation is on a dying Persian soldier who falls in the foreground as the apex of a triangle completed by Darius and Alexander. Darius reaches out despairingly, while two additional Persian men struggle in the foreground directly in front of their king's chariot. One of these soldiers is attempting to protect the king by thrusting his shield up against imminent attack. The other is caught in the final throes of death. He lies on the ground amid the melée of the king's frantic horses, facing Darius. His visage is accessible to us only through its reflection in the interior concavity of his great shield. It is customary to interpret this tragic scene from a purely Greek vantage point. As S. Woodford has suggested, for instance, in an introductory handbook that I like very much in most ways for use in elementary survey teaching: "Darius looks back from his chariot and reaches out a compassionate hand towards the follower who is ready to die for him — *a portrayal showing characteristic Greek respect for the enemy*" [emphasis mine] (Woodford 1982, 67).

On one important level the painting prototype of the Alexander mosaic might more appropriately be interpreted from a Persian vantage point. At the very least, it would be appropriate to elaborate upon Nylander's preliminary discussion — to ask of the monument what it may have been meant to say about the Persians. Although it was executed by Greek artists in Greek style, the fourth century painting told, I would submit, a Persian story extolling Persian virtues of aristocratic loyalty; a Persian story in which Alexander was the wild-eyed disheveled invader foreshadowing the descriptions of the Macedonian demon of the apocalypse found in the *Bahman Yasht* (Eddy 1961, 19).

It was a Persian story also in that it portrayed a tradition of Achaemenid aristocratic bonds between loyal men and the king. This tradition seems to have stressed the honoring of loyal acts through representation in the visual arts. Darius had his friends Gobryas and Aspathines represented, with name captions, on his tomb façade; a fragmentary inscription from Susa preserves the name of Otanes in conjunction with representations of the famous guard figures of molded brick relief decorating the palace facade; and the two unlabeled nobles behind Darius on the Behistun relief are possibly meant to depict Gobryas and Intaphernes — since these men figure prominently in the text (Root 1979, 76,186). The story told by Herodotus (III 88) about Darius' rewarding the groom Oebares by erecting a sculpture of him also fits this pattern of systematic reinforcement of loyalty to the king through depiction on art monuments.

One gains the impression that this type of recognition for outstanding personal service to the king was part of a deeply engrained ethos. It may have been the very type of bond that could have fostered the emotional portrayal on the prototype of the Alexander mosaic. All of this forces us to be particularly critical of Bengtson's previously mentioned characterization of an empire shrouded in dark shadows, with everyone treated as a slave of the king — an empire in which "not a single one of the aides of Darius stands out clearly in the Persian tradition" (Bengtson 1968, 18-19).

Of course I understand the reasons why the painting prototype of the Alexander mosaic is treated as a work of Greek art. My point here, however, is to drive home the fact that monuments such as this belong equally — but for different reasons — within the discussion of evidence for Persian cultural presence in and impact upon the west.

There are other monuments as well that occupy a similar position as examples of 'Greek' art of the fourth century that nevertheless have imbedded in them significant Persianisms. A famous example is the Alexander Sarcophagus. This sarcophagus is a critical monument for the history of Achaemenid art — even though it is a work of Greek art in terms of production. It preserves on the shield interiors of certain Persian figures painted emblems (an heroic combat image and a royal audience image) that derive ultimately from the heartland iconography of official Persian art (von Graeve 1970, 102-111). These paintings are critical sources on the transmission of official, centrally-mandated images of power into the context of the western periphery. It is beyond the scope of this paper to pursue this issue in great detail. But it is important here to suggest a Persianizing impulse behind the inclusion of these particular paintings on the shield interiors. The paintings seem to link the

Persian fighters on the sarcophagus to a whole system of aristocratic Achaemenid values of loyalty to the king and to the imagery expressing official dynastic ideology. To have the interiors of the Persians' shields embellished with images of the Great King in audience and the Great King as royal hero suggests that these images were thought of as having significant resonance for the Persian men. As we noted on the Alexander mosaic, with the dying Persian reflected in his own shield interior, this surface can be treated in a highly charged symbolic way. It is the 'personal' side of the shield in a sense, for it is likely to be the surface of last observance before death in battle.

In sum, the category of monuments exemplified by the Alexander mosaic prototype and the Alexander Sarcophagus suggests an interesting point of convergence between 'Greek art' in the western empire (typically meaning art produced by artists working in the Greek representational tradition) and what we might call 'Persianizing art' in the same milieu. This 'Persianizing art' would refer to art that reveals the suffusion of 'Greek art' with powerful evocations of aristocratic Persian values and the iconography of royal ideology. I have deliberately left these definitions open in terms of the ethnicity of either artist or patron. I believe that the ethnicity of both parties has been over-emphasized. This over-emphasis has obscured important features of a complex cultural landscape.

(5) *Uncritical classification of 'Graeco-Persian' art*

So far we have been discussing art that has been treated as totally Greek despite significant Persianisms. Now we turn to the diverse array of artistic products from the western empire that are generally acknowledged as reflecting some kind of cross-fertilization of aesthetic and social interests between Persians and Hellenic/Hellenized peoples in Asia Minor. This class of material is what we call 'Graeco-Persian', following Furtwängler (1903, 116f.). Included in one sense or another under this rubric are a variety of types of art: monuments of relief sculpture (viz. Metzger 1971 and 1975; Hermary 1984), the painted tombs at Elmali (Mellink 1974) and, especially, a large number of seals, most of which are unprovenanced (Boardman 1970a, 303-357).

A recent study of the Taş Kule monument may serve as a paradigm for thoughtful treatment of the problems posed by an architectural structure of 'Graeco-Persian' associations (Cahill 1988, with extensive bibliography). Discussions of the Graeco-Persian seals have not, alas, advanced so far. Boardman's excellent survey has acknowledged many of the impediments to refined understanding (Boardman 1970a, 303-357). Paradoxically, the fact that so many of these seals exist has hindered scholarly assessment. Because the seals are almost always unprovenanced, they rarely become part of the fabric of archaeologically oriented dialogue. Furthermore, they are housed in disparate collections where all too often they have simply been categorized as 'Greek'. This problem relates back to factor number 3 in our litany of elements contributing to the meagre archaeological record of Persian presence in the west. It was noted sometime ago by Starr in his overview of Persian-Greek relations in fourth century Asia Minor (Starr 1977, 85). The seals reveal a baffling array of combinations of apparently Greek-Persian hybrid elements (e.g. of style, imagery, seal form, material). The academic game has been to attempt to determine (usually for isolated pieces or types) the relative weight of hybridization: e.g. whether the item or class can best be called essentially Greek art for a Greek patron; Greek (or Anatolian) art for a Persian patron; or art produced by an oriental craftsman attempting somewhat unsuccessfully to create Greek-looking work for a Persian patron.

In all of this discourse, which has continued for almost a full century now, there has been a curious tendency to avoid open discussion of the myriad possible implications of the Graeco-Persian material. Whatever the relative weight of the hybridization, the fact of its existence reveals extraordinary social and artistic interplay between the west and the east. Now, we can look at the idea of interplay in two ways. The traditional way seems to assume that 'interplay' means diluted, weak Persian impact (where the appearance of straightforward totally Persian items would, on the other hand, indicate strong impact). A different way of interpreting the evaluation of interplay is the one I propose here. Is it not possible to consider evidence of cultural interpenetration as an index of particularly significant Persian cultural impact? As cultural impact that was not simply a superficial courtly gloss — but rather a phenomenon that reflects an embrace of social exchange with the Persians on the part of populations in the host environment? Interestingly, the quality of interplay I am discussing here is discernible with the seals on the level of personal art products, many of which must have been the property of 'common' people functioning in Asia Minor (probably of a variety of ethnic backgrounds).

This I believe is a critical point. Hanfmann once remarked as follows concerning the pyramidal stamp seals so thoroughly studied by Boardman (Boardman 1970b):

> The greatest amount of Iranian subject matter and style is found in the luxury arts of the satrapal courts, yet even here closer study reveals admixture of Anatolian and Greek elements. Thus John Boardman has just recently conclusively attributed to Sardis some two hundred pyramidal seals of chalcedony, agate, and rock crystal. Their motifs are usually Persian (as the horned griffin or the crowned bearded sphinx), but their inscriptions are Lydian — and only one owner's name is Iranian (Mitratas), the others all Lydian (Hanfmann 1975, 19).

The subtext of this passage states that Persian impact must be viewed as significantly weakened (1) because the Persian elements have been merged with western modes and (2) because even on the pyramidal stamp seals, that do reveal such clear Persianisms in art forms, inscription evidence suggests that they were owned by Lydians. It seems to me, however, that the Lydian names on Persianizing seals reveal very strong Persian impact on the people of Asia Minor rather than very diluted Persian impact.

II. The Heart of the Matter

In the short space remaining I shall bring forward some evidence from the Persepolis Fortification Tablet seal impressions — evidence that suggests a different perspective on problems alluded to above.

Achaemenid Imperial Coinage

It is well known that no Persian Archer coins have ever been found in Persia, in the heart of the empire. These coins are primarily associated (through hoards and isolated finds) with the west — even though, as noted above, ample testimony suggests that the treasuries of Susa and Persepolis had abundant stock before the arrival of Alexander. This fact has tended to divorce this coinage from association with centrally-mandated imperial concepts. Passing comment is often made to the effect that the Persian Archers (types I-III, at any rate) were only intended for use in the west to pay westerners and that these coins cannot therefore be used as an index of Persian 'presence' (e.g. Moorey 1980, 129). This way of thinking seems to suggest that *Persian presence equals the physical presence of Persian people owning/using specific Persian items*. In that sense, it perhaps becomes understandable to suggest (with Moorey) that the imperial coinage has no value as an index. This definition of 'presence' troubles me, however. As I have urged already, the concept of presence and impact needs to relate to the cultural force implicit in hybrid forms that reflect interplay between Persian and local forms and/or ideas. Beyond that, I am also troubled by the tendency toward dismissal of the imperial coinage as somehow extraneous to the discussion of official Achaemenid art in its outward-directed aspect.

A Type II Archer coin has now been identified in the Persepolis Fortification archive — used as a seal on a tablet dated to 500 B.C. (Root 1988). The appearance of this coin functioning as a seal on a tablet ratified in the Persepolis environs — and used by a man heading west from points east of Persepolis — is significant. It compels us to consider the implications of the Archer series as an art form that projected a particular message out from the heart of the empire. The fact that the message (via the coins bearing it) is documented as having physically reached the western regions of the empire means that the official imperial message on the coins had reached its target. This, I would submit, constitutes a form of imperial presence.

The imagery and style of the Archer series emerges directly out of seal workshops that were active in Persepolis in the late sixth-early fifth centuries B.C. (Garrison 1988; Root 1989). A series of cylinder seal impressions in the archive offers a progression of 'narrative' kneeling archer images. This progression runs from seals closely associated with neo-Elamite glyptic (probably in some cases neo-Elamite products still in use) to seals displaying the developed court style (compare figs. 1 and 2). It is significant to note that the court style robed kneeling archers in narrative hunt scenes on the Fortification Tablets apparently never wear the royal crown. The Type II Archer coin image seems to pluck the archer out of the narrative context, place him in emblematic isolation, and supply him with a crown. The result is a figure of the king-as-hunter: his arrows, like his empire, shooting out from centre to the farthest reaches.

It is important to understand this Achaemenid coinage as a significant distillation of court production with deeply entrenched Near Eastern artistic traditions behind it. It was created to look the way it looks precisely because in style and imagery it was a quintessentially Persian, Achaemenid, manifestation of imperial power. Stylistically this power statement resonates with a Persianness that owes much to more ancient Near Eastern glyptic tradition. Iconographically, the Type II Archer (who kneels and shoots) may have carried a double message — evoking ideas of the King-as-hunter and also ideas of Herakles-as-hunter (Root 1989). But any such double entendre notwithstanding, the fact remains that the coinage is rooted in a heartland tradition. For the theme under discussion in this workshop, it seems particularly significant that the Achaemenid king commissioned the production of thoroughly Persian-looking coinage specifically in order to pay the currency-oriented Hellenic/Hellenized mercenaries in the west. Whether or not this coinage was actually *minted* in the west (at Sardis, as is generally assumed) or in the heartland (as recently proposed by Amandry 1985, 163) does not alter the effective Persianness of it as a product. Furthermore, the question of whether the dies were manufactured by Lydian die cutters or by eastern seal carvers is interesting; but the answer to that question would not alter the essential Persianness either of the message or of the coin bearing the message. Knowledge of the ethnicity of the die cutter would not even prove the location of the manufacturing of the die or the minting place of the coin — since artisans, like coin dies, were eminently transportable commodities.

It seems inescapable to me that the Archer coins were intended to convey a clear message directly from the Persian king to the people who acquired them. The message was not very complicated. It followed principles of effective propaganda in advertizing. The message was about the physical prowess and military power of the Persian king.

The fact of the creation of the Archer coins primarily to be circulated in Asia Minor among Greeks might productively be thought of as a decidedly assertive feature of the Achaemenid imperial programme. It suggests that the Persian king felt confident that his image in thoroughly Persian mode would carry immediate recognition and prestige. The Persian Archer coins must indeed represent the king as dynastic representative (Root 1989). Thus they are in a sense the first examples of ruler portraits applied to coinage. They clearly evoke an ethos of rulership based on human charisma. It may be no mere coincidence that the fully evolved concept of ruler portraiture on coins emerges in Asia Minor in the wake of the dissemination of this Persian imperial coinage. Furthermore, the development of ruler portraiture within the satrapal courts of Asia Minor may not necessarily have been a symptom of rebelliousness against the central dynastic authority. Rather, it should perhaps be seen as yet another manifestation of the tendency in Achaemenid contexts to reward significant loyalty through visual representation of the cooperative ally of the king. We might postulate that the satrapal portraits were a sign of open allegiance and that other Persianizing coin motifs were also meant to acknowledge loyalty to the central regime. There is no reason (beyond the Bengtsonian fabrication of a gloomy, oppressive empire) to suppose that the Persian king felt threatened by the application of heartland imagery or satrapal portraits to local coinages. Commentary by Zahle is relevant here (Mørkholm and Zahle 1972, 110).

Graeco-Persian problems

The Achaemenid Archer emblems, then, are heartland Persian in style and iconography. Yet it is apparent that they were aimed at a western audience. This leads us to a more generalized set of methodological problems that lie at the heart of difficulties in scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals: Is it valid to assume that one operable paradigm exists for understanding how the artistic style and iconography of an item relates to the ethnicity of the intended patron who commissioned it or to the ethnicity of the audience meant to receive its message? Similarly, is it valid to assume that we can determine the ethnicity of the artisan through equation with the style and imagery used in the carving of a seal?

Confusion about how (and for what purposes) to assess the ethnicity of artisan and patron/audience is rampant in the scholarship on the Persianizing coinages of Asia Minor and also in the scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals. Regarding the Tarsus coin issues with contrasting Greek and Persian stylistic referencing on obverse and reverse, Kraay once stated that they must have been minted to pay Persian troops (Kraay 1976, 280). The implication was that a Persian-style emblem would only have been used to address a Persian audience. Clearly this reasoning is inconsistent with the traditional (and almost universally accepted) understanding of the relationship between style, imagery and intended receivers (audience) of the imperial Archers. For in that case, as we have seen, a thoroughly *Persian* image has been regarded as a totally western-directed phenomenon. The example points up the capriciousness of assumptions laced through most commentary on Persian presence in the west.

The notorious circularity of discussion on 'Graeco-Persian' art is caused to some degree by the refusal to relinquish the notion that only Greeks could produce Greek-style art forms — but that anyone could produce Near Eastern-style work. It is critical to understand that much scholarship has a very simple explanation for determining Greekness of style as opposed to Persianness of style: Greek means 'beautiful, naturalistic, rounded, free'; Persian means 'stiff, frozen, rigid, abstract, static'.

Thus, for instance, Farkas has discussed a coin of Evagoras II which shows the satrap on horseback on obverse and a version of the Type II Archer motif on reverse (fig. 3). In an effort to justify her assumption that the coin had to have been made by a Greek, she remarks that "the Greek horse on the beautifully executed scene of Evagoras on horseback becomes understandable" only if it is "the product of Greek coinmakers" (Farkas 1969, 75). We are left to wonder what it is about this horse that makes it a specifically 'Greek' horse. And beyond that, we are left to wonder about the ethnicity of the artisan who cut the die for the Persianizing reverse of this coin.

Analysis of the Graeco-Persian seals has been burdened by the sterility of an approach that focuses on the ethnicity of the artisan. But study of this material has also been burdened by closely related assumptions about the quality of demand placed by the Greek patron versus the Persian patron on the results of the artistic commission. In other words, we frequently find in the scholarship categorical assumptions about Persian taste and the ways in which Persian clients in seal workshops exercised their (ethnically drenched) prerogatives as 'patrons'. One typical assumption has the Persian client mandating the inclusion of only the most superficial elements in order to render Persianized an otherwise purely Greek work of art. Thus, for instance, Francis characterizes the Persian client's impact as limited to matters such as possibly compelling the (Greek) artist to render a figure with a Persian pigtail or to make the Persian in a Greek-Persian combat scene the figure who is shown victorious (Francis 1980, 68 quoted above). Another type of assumption stresses the idea that Persian-looking seals will necessarily have been intended for Persian clients, while Greek-looking seals will naturally have been destined for Greek clients. Even Boardman (whose work on this material is indispensable nonetheless) sometimes falls into this mode of explanation. Thus, for instance, he compares two seals both representing a standing male personage in oriental attire (Boardman 1970a, 201 and figs. 532 and 884). One of these seals is carved in a classical Greek tradition of pose and drapery conception and it is a truly elegant piece (fig. 532). The other is carved in a linear, rather cursory manner and is quite simply an uninspired piece of mediocre workmanship in comparison. The elegant seal has been attributed to an East Greek artisan producing a commission for a Greek client. The mediocre seal has been attributed to a workshop in Asia Minor producing gems for a strictly Persian clientele. Two things worry me about this approach. One is that the style of the mediocre seal bears no relation to Achaemenid court style — which is highly refined and just as elegant in its own way as the classical style of Greece. I, of course, do not know who purchased this humdrum product of a man in oriental garb; but I see no reason to assume that it was a Persian. There is no reason to assume that a Persian would only have wanted to buy Persian-looking items from the workshops of the west (even if this piece were in fact Persian-looking, which it really is not!). By the same token, I see no reason to assume that a Persian of means, living or travelling in Asia Minor, could not have commissioned the elegant Greek-style object. Underlying the rationale for determining Greek versus Persian clientele for these two gems is a basic value judgment that reflects western cultural perspectives so deep-seated as to be no individual scholar's 'fault': a Greek is likely to have had 'good taste'; while a Persian is likely to have had 'bad taste'.

Graeco-Persian problems: Adjustments from the heartland

Boardman himself has astutely observed that we know too little about glyptic art at the centre of the Persian empire. Our ignorance of the seal art emanating from the centre makes it difficult to assess the qualities of Greek-Persian interaction in style and subject matter on the 'Graeco-Persian' gems (Boardman 1970b, 38). It is now finally possible to begin this process, armed with information derived from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets.

Several issues relating to the 'Graeco-Persian' seals come into sharper focus with reference to seal impressions from the Persepolis archive. One issue concerns the role of the Persian patron as participant in the process of choice in the creating of a personal seal device. Many of the people ratifying documents at or near Persepolis were well-traveled and highly placed aristocrats who had been exposed to varied environments and had the capacity to patronize whatever glyptic studios they most appreciated. They were equipped to make informed aesthetic choices. Gobryas, son of Mardonius and close associate of Darius the Great, sealed Fortification Tablet 688 with a remarkable stamp (Fortification Seal 857) bearing an image of two lions attacking a stag (fig. 4). The tablet text dates to 499 B.C. and records disbursements of large quantities of rations to Gobryas while he was on a mission carrying a document of the king (PFT 213). The seal used by Gobryas is characterized by a smooth, voluptuous style — fully modelled, but without extensive muscular detailing in the animal forms. One lion attacks the stag at its breast, with rear legs braced against the prey's belly. The other lion has mounted the stag's back and bites into flesh with a frontally posed face. The victim is a graceful foil to these fierce beasts. Its head points forward in profile, but it seems simultaneously to be tipped toward the viewer, displaying only one ear but both antlers. The antlers fill the upper zone of the stamp's circular field. This seal has stylistic affinities with archaic Greek art. The stag's graceful body and its frontally disposed antlers remind one of the similar stag on a black-figured cup tondo by the Tleson painter (Boardman 1974, fig.111 = Boston Museum of Fine Arts 98.920; Beazley *ABV* 179.1). Similar stags are occasionally depicted on gems which have been classified as Greek (Boardman 1970a, figs. 564, 868). Basically, the rendering on the Gobryas seal looks Greek, although in its totality of style and composition no single Greek art work is strikingly close to it (Hoffman 1985). The motif of the lion attacking prey is, of course, a venerable Near Eastern one which, by the sixth century, had become common enough also in the Greek milieu.

In the final analysis the problem presented by the Gobryas seal is this: If it were known to us as an actual seal found out of context and housed as an unprovenanced museum piece, it would surely be classified as a work of Greek art. It would be extolled as the virtuoso piece of a Greek master. And it would surely be linked to the patronage of a thoroughly Greek individual. The fact that we know the seal, instead, as an impression on an Achaemenid administrative tablet found at the heart of the empire and owned by Gobryas forces us to reassess assumptions about Persian patronage and taste. At the very minimum, this seal demonstrates that an intimate associate of the king had a freedom of choice. He did not, for instance, need to restrict his personal equipment to material demonstrating intense stylistic links with court style Achaemenid art as we know it from the Persepolis relief sculptures and from the Royal Name seals of the court (Root 1979, 118-122; Root and Garrison forthcoming). If we take the Gobryas seal to be representative of Greek art, then we can suggest that Gobryas exercised his freedom of choice at least once in the direction of the Greek sphere of formal values. This would be a significant finding as an antidote to the tendencies in scholarship discussed above.

Alas, the situation may be even more interesting than that. When the Gobryas seal is studied within the context of other seal impressions from the Persepolis archive, it begins to look a little less Greek. The Fortification Tablets preserve a number of cylinder seal impressions showing lion and stag imagery rendered in a style quite similar to that employed for the Gobryas seal. That is to say, the animals are characterized by lithe contours; the figures are fully modeled, but have almost no detailing of interior musculature or surface patterning of fur (fig. 5). These cylinder seals are the direct descendents of a strong tradition in animal style that was explored in Neo-Elamite workshops. I wonder whether those very stylistic qualities that seem at first so 'Greek' on the Gobryas seal may actually reflect this same Neo-Elamite strain in Achaemenid period glyptic studios of the heartland. This possibility might still leave as an apparently Greek trait the distinctive compositional alignment of the two lions on the Gobryas seal — although even this element seems hinted at by PFT Seal 142 (fig. 5). At any rate, the seal of Gobryas may be a unique commissioned piece — a true exemplar of Graeco-Persian *koinè*. Further study of the Neo-Elamite elements imbedded in the seal art of the late sixth century-early fifth century at Persepolis may reveal nuances of stylistic variety within central court traditions. The paradox may turn out to be that elements of 'Greekness' such as smooth, full, rounded animal forms will be seen to be equally and masterfully at home in the thriving glyptic studios of the heartland — studios whose roots lay in an important but still poorly documented southwest Iranian tradition.

The Neo-Elamite factor also plays an important role in another aspect of discussion of defining characteristics of 'Graeco-Persian' art. A *Leitmotiv* of scholarship is the portrayal of the imagery on Achaemenid seals as stereotyped and extremely restricted. A major Greek contribution to the 'Graeco-Persian' *koinè* has been assumed to be the infusion of static, hieratic oriental emblems with fresh representational material: genre scenes involving women as well as men; scenes of hunters on horseback displayed in free-field compositions. Again, the Fortification tablet seal impressions are revealing. Space does not permit full discussion of this material here. But perhaps reference to one relevant type will suffice to demonstrate the richness of possibilities for future analysis.

Two Neo-Elamite cylinder seals are used on the Persepolis tablets, documenting a lively tradition in the representation of galloping horsemen. Seals 51 and 93 (figs. 6-7) show a hunter and a warrior respectively, each one charging across the field in an open compositional format with prey disposed in a free-ranging array. These seals link up closely with the small Neo-Elamite corpus known primarily from the excavations at Susa and studied interpretatively by Amiet (Amiet 1973a & b). They serve as critical potential prototypes for the large series of 'Graeco-Persian' seals showing galloping horsemen (e.g. Boardman 1970a, figs. 904, 905, 924, 925; and fig. 8 here). Seal 93, bearing the name Cyrus, son of Teispes, of Anshan, is a precious document — as its manufacture can be so precisely dated to the lifetime of the grandfather of Cyrus the Great. These seal impressions show us that such animated compositions of horsemen riding full-modelled vigorous steeds, were a significant feature of the courtly arts in Iran. The Persians did not need to be enriched by the conquest of Asia Minor in order to embrace such images (pace Farkas 1969, 76: "In this sense, the 'Graeco-Persian' gems may be Greek and not Persian, for there may well have been no Persian horse and rider motif until Greek artists created it").

The seal of Cyrus of Anshan (Seal 93), still in use several generations after its manufacture alerts us to the importance of the ancient traditions imbedded in the Achaemenid context. These traditions were incorporated into the consciousnesses and day-to-day tangible workings of the lives of real people using seals in the Persepolis environs at the heart of the empire. The significance of tradition is seen in a slightly different way through the seals of Parnaka, the chief of operations at Persepolis. When he lost his seal, he had a new one made (Seal 16—fig. 9). Parnaka's new seal (its manufacture precisely datable to year 22 of Darius) is an Assyrianizing masterpiece (Garrison 1988, 263-268 on Parnaka's old seal; 216-233 on his new one). This seal demonstrates, like the seal of Gobryas, that aristocratic Persians had the ability to select imagery and styles and to commission personal items of the highest quality that were expressive of idiosyncratic taste. This taste was an informed one, reflecting familiarity with an astonishingly wide range of possibilities drawn from different historical periods and from various geographical/cultural zones.

The elaborate official programme of Achaemenid imperial art, which has been shown to have been deeply informed by antique Near Eastern formulae (Root 1979) can now be seen (thanks not least to Parnaka) as part of a broadly based system of social relationships to the artistic environment. The programmatic entrenchment of the official art of Persepolis in heavily connotated, antique imagery is not merely a superficial gloss with which the participants in the environment would have had no real resonance. The Persepolis Fortification Tablet seal impressions reveal that the centre of the empire was not a cultural periphery. At least, it was not a cultural periphery unless 'culture' must be equated with and limited to forms of demonstrably Greek inspiration. The people who were insiders within its social embrace were people who had an integrated aesthetic and social rapport with the official programme of Achaemenid monumental art. They also had active personal predilections in art. When these people traveled and lived in Asia Minor their interests and motivations in the acquisition of new art were likely to have been sophisticated, demanding and attuned to concepts of quality.

In short, I think there are ways of approaching the problem of Persian impact on the western reaches of the empire that suggest subtly nuanced but very assertive presence and cultural interaction. We need to break away from stereotypical formulae for assessing what is 'Persian' and what is 'Greek' if we are going to advance our discourse.

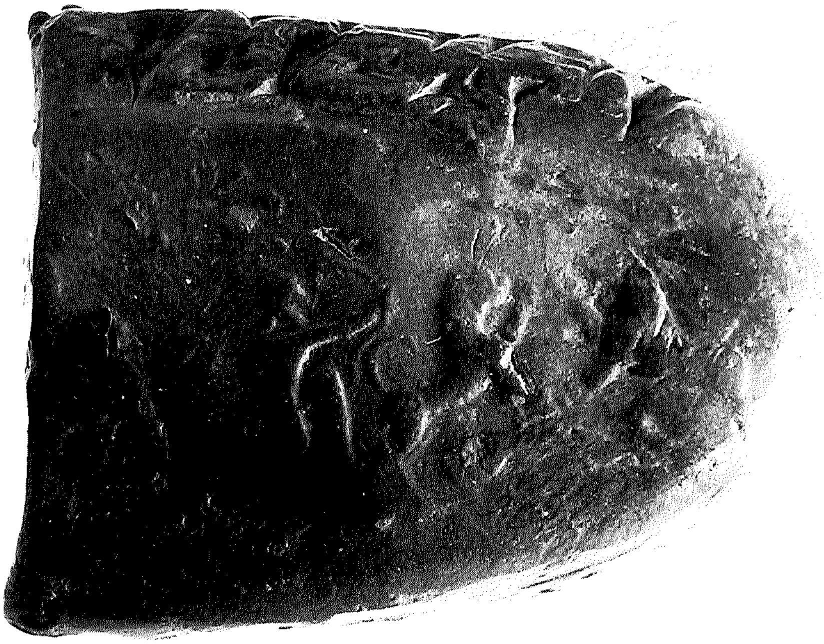

Fig. 1. PFT Seal 305 on PFT 481: Cylinder in Neo-Elamite tradition, showing kneeling archer.

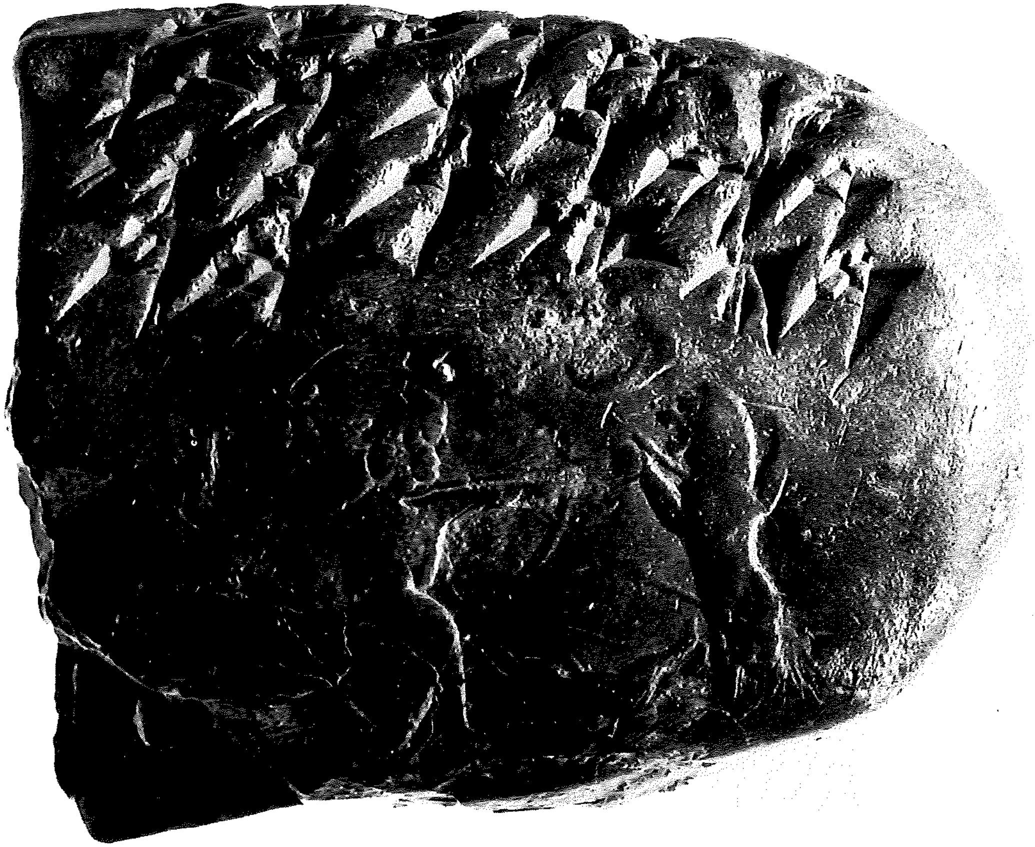

Fig. 2. PFT Seal 71 on PFT 280: Cylinder in Court Style showing kneeling archer.

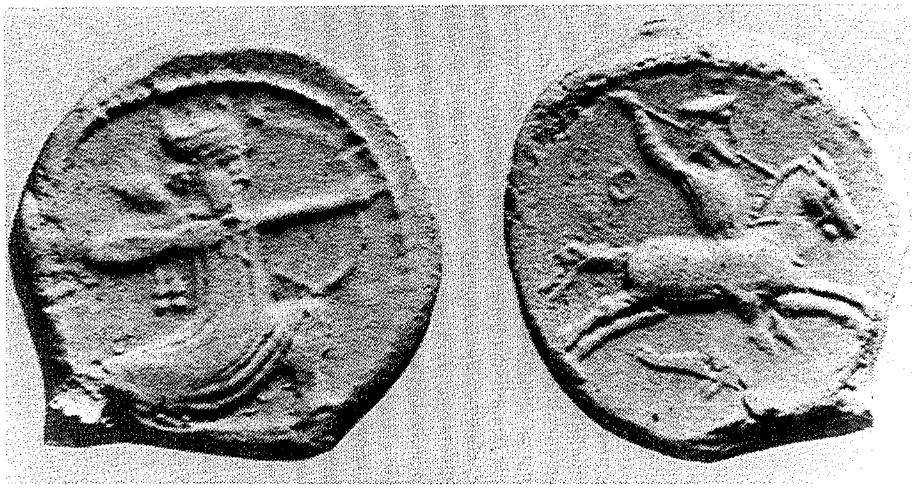

Fig. 3. Coin of Evagoras II: Persianizing reverse and 'Greek' obverse (after E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1893, pl. XVII/15.

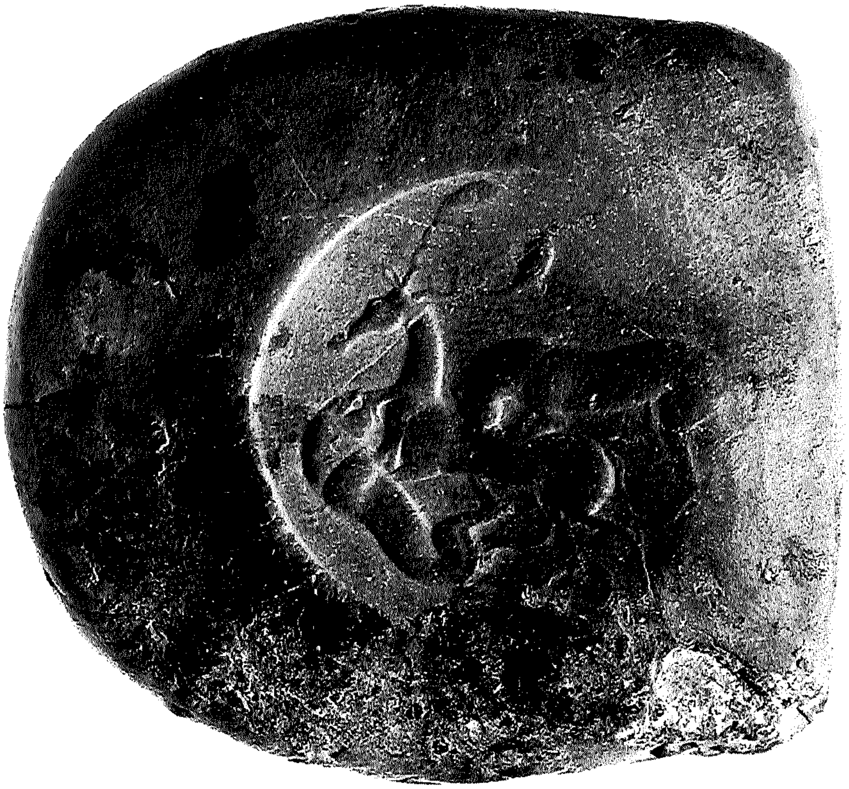

Fig. 4. PFT Seal 857 on PFT 688: Stamp seal of Gobryas.

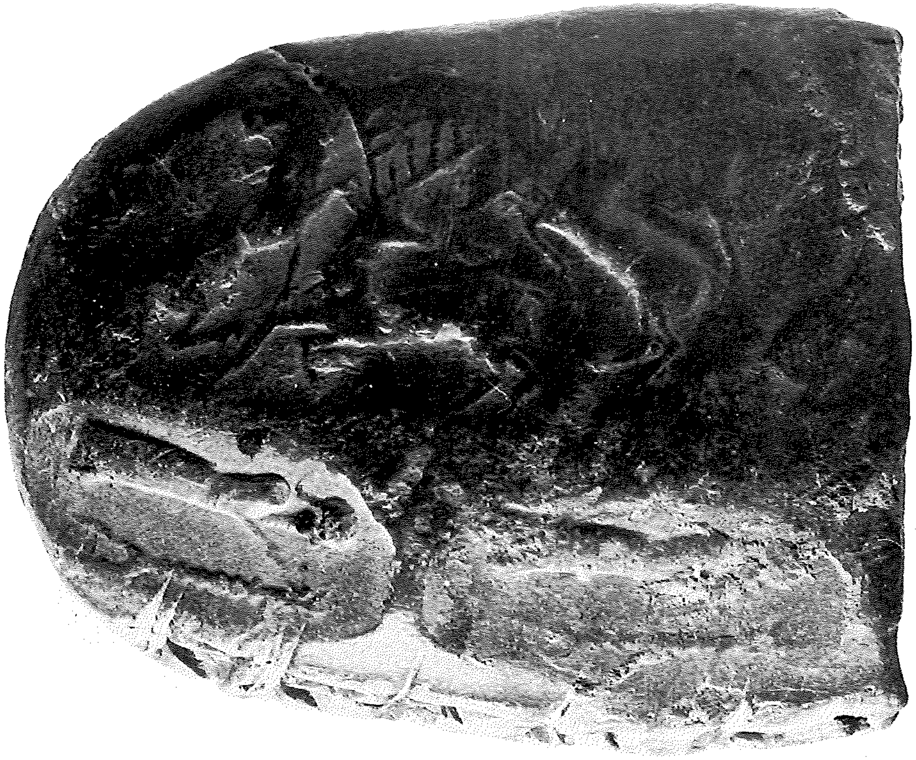

Fig. 5. PFT Seal 142 on PFT 1104: Cylinder showing two lions attacking stag, deriving from the Neo-Elamite stylistic tradition.

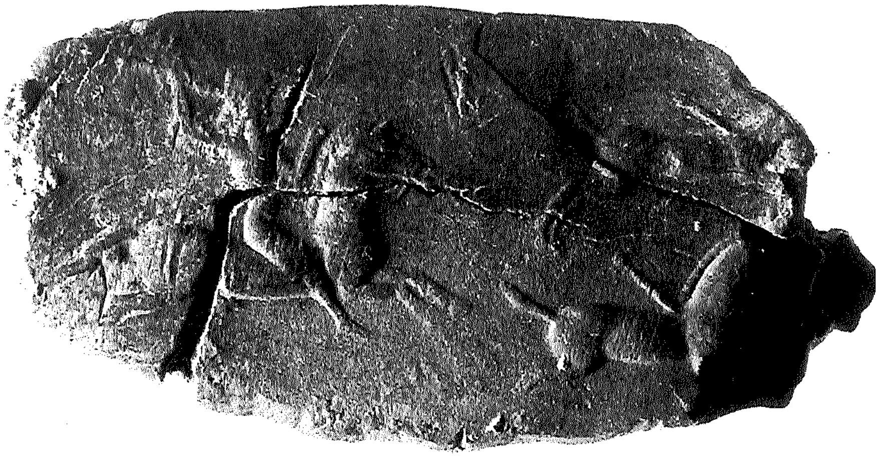

Fig. 6. PFT Seal 51 on PFT 740: Neo-Elamite Cylinder showing galloping horseman and prey.

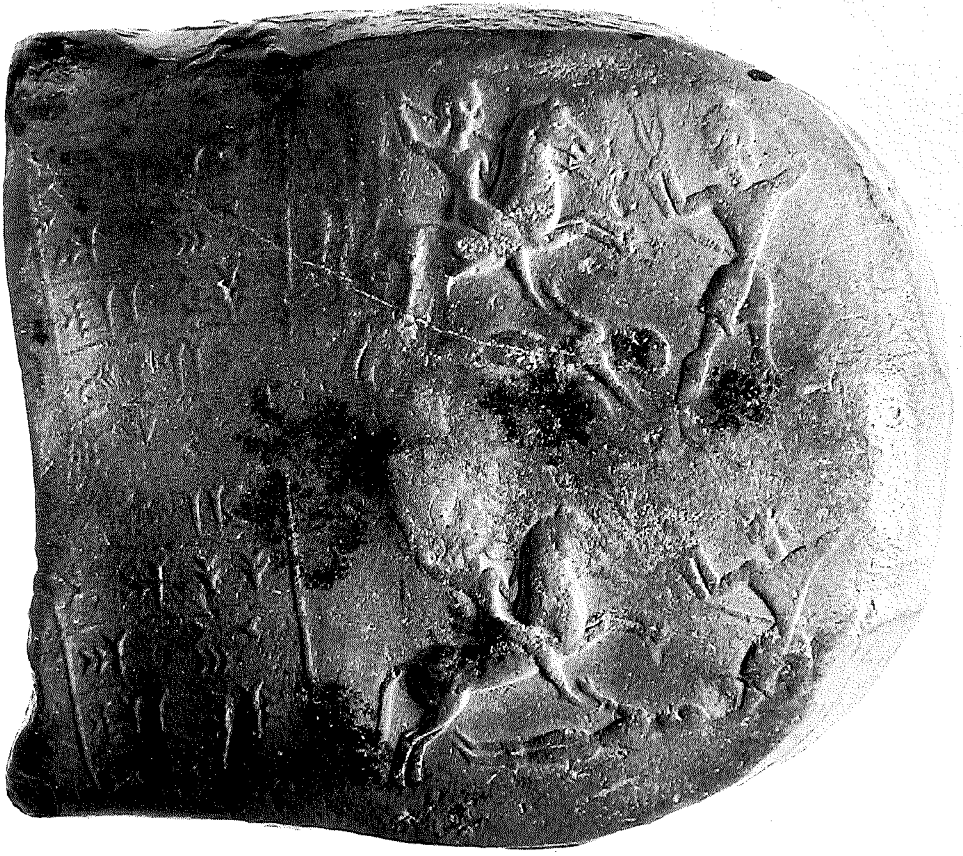

Fig. 7. PFT Seal 93 on PFT 692: Neo-Elamite cylinder seal of Cyrus of Anshan showing galloping horseman and enemies.

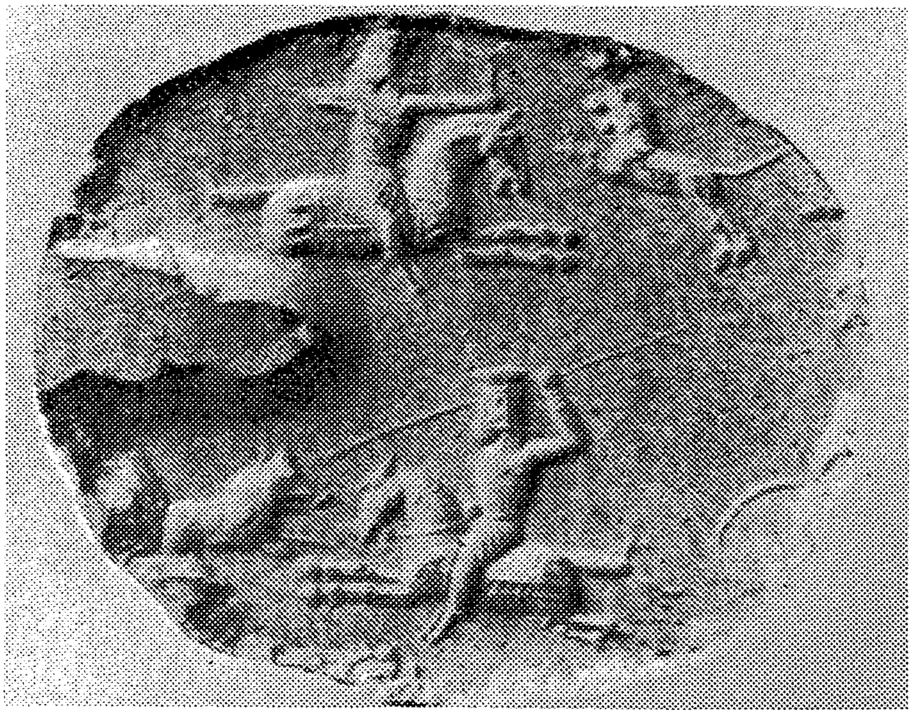

Fig. 8. A 'Graeco-Persian' seal typical of the galloping horseman type often considered a purely Greek invention (after A. Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen* I, Leipzig and Berlin 1900, pl. XI/1.

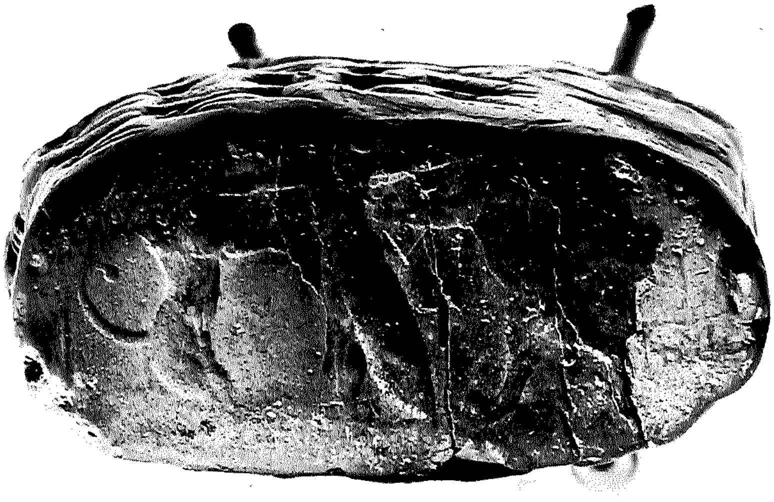

Fig. 9 PFT Seal 16 on PFT 1803: The Assyrianizing new seal of Parnaka made in Year 22 of Darius.

PERSIAN, THRACIAN AND GREEK GOLD AND SILVER: QUESTIONS OF METROLOGY

Michael Vickers — Oxford

The metrology of gold and silver is a subject which, like speculation on the dimensions of Solomon's Temple or disquisitions on the significance of the measurements of the Great Pyramid, is a topic which 'serious' scholars prefer to avoid (for some of the reasons why this should be so, see Bernal 1987, 173-4, 272-80). Nevertheless, it is clear that the ancients attached great importance to weights and measures, and we surely neglect this fact at our peril. We are particularly well informed in the case of the Persian empire, ruled for a time by Darius 'the Shopkeeper' (Hdt. III 89). Greek temple inventories provide another major source of information as David Lewis has recently emphasised (Lewis 1986), and especially so where their holdings of precious metal are concerned. Recent finds of gold and silver in Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia have added greatly to our knowledge of the kind of plate in use in the Persian empire and surrounding territories. This paper explores some of the ways in which Achaemenian gold and silver standards played a prominent role in economic, social and political life in these areas.

Panagyurishte:

It has been well said of classical Greek gold and silver objects that "their weights were usually rendered in units of a commonly used coin" (von Bothmer 1962-63, 155), but very few scholars have followed up this lead, and publications of gold and silver plate which contain indications of weight are still unusual. The most useful treatment to date of the weights of the contents of an ancient hoard of precious metal is H.A. Cahn's study of the Panagyurishte Treasure, found in Bulgarian Thrace in 1949 (Cahn 1960, 26-9; cf. Strong 1966, 97, 102; Griffith 1974, 38-42. For the Panagyurishte Treasure in general: Tsontschev 1959; Venedikov 1961; Exhibition Catalogue, London 1976; Exhibition Catalogue, Mainz, 1979, frontispiece and 180-8, 199, 200). Cahn was able to show, by examining the weights of the various gold objects, that some were made in units of Persian darics, and others in units of Alexander staters, and he drew the conclusion that the amphora, rhyta, jugs and phiale were made about the time, in the latter part of the fourth century BC, when the one unit of currency was being replaced by the other. He rightly criticised the view that a Lampsacene standard was employed (Venedikov 1961, 22) pointing out that Lampsacus — in common with many other places — based its coinage on that of Persia (Cahn 1960; cf. Lewis 1986, 76). The Persian daric was a coin of very pure gold (23.25 carat, according to Schmitt 1983, 421) which weighed 8.25-8.46 grams (Babelon 1893, 1-16), the Alexander stater a gold coin of comparable purity weighing two Attic drachmai (of 4.31 grams) (Cahn 1960, 27). In the cases of the amphora and the phiale from Panagyurishte, graffiti assist conversion from one standard to another. The amphora (actual weight 1695.25g) is thus said to weigh 200 units plus one hemidrachm and an obol. The fraction, equivalent to four Attic obols, weighs 2.87 grams and the remaining 1692.38g contain 200 times 8.46 grams. The phiale decorated with heads of blacks, acorns, beechnuts and bees, weighs 845.7 grams which can readily be seen as the equivalent of 100 darics each weighing 8.457 grams. Indeed, one graffito H (= 100) states as much; the other declares it to weigh 196 drachmai and one twenty-fourth, which it actually does on the Attic standard.

The New York phiale:

Another gold phiale decorated with acorns and beechnuts alone is in the Metropolitan Museum (von Bothmer 1962-63; 1984, 86). Its original weight has been estimated to have been about 756 grams which converts to 90 darics of 8.4 grams. It bears an inscription in Punic script which appears to declare its weight as 180 units; too small to be drachmae as has been suggested (von Bothmer 1962-3, 155), but bearing a clear relationship to a weight of 90 darics. Other extant gold objects apparently made to a daric standard include the acorn necklace from Nymphaeum in the Crimaea and now in the Ashmolean Museum (Vickers 1979, 41-2, pl. 11a-b). When it was weighed recently, it proved to be exactly equivalent to eight darics. A deep golden bowl in the Metropolitan Museum (Wilkinson 1954-55, 223-4; Mayrhofer 1978, 17, No. 3.12.2) was claimed to have been found at Hamadan/Ecbatana (though see the doubts on thus point expressed by O.W. Muscarella [1979, 31-35]). It is inscribed with the name of Xerxes in Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite and weighs 1100 grams (information kindly supplied by Dr Muscarella): 130 darics at 8.46 grams.

Athenian inventories:

David Lewis has recently suggested that some "peculiar Athenian weights" of gold objects mentioned in inventories at Athens might be explained by regarding them as having been made to a daric standard. There is, as he points out, "clear fourth-century evidence for objects being weighed in darics" (Lewis 1986, 76-7). Indeed, there may well be evidence earlier still; in the case of, for example, the two gold phialai in the Hecatompedon whose combined weight is given as 1344 drachmai (Thompson 1981, 318), since the 5792.64g of gold make for 685 darics of 8.46g, or the two gold vessels whose weight of 293 drachmai, 3 obols (*ibid.*) easily converts to 150 darics of 8.43g.

Silver has received rather less attention than gold thus far. In fact, many of the silver objects recorded in Athenian inventories whose weights are awkwardly rendered in *drachmae* appear at first sight to be rendered in units of Persian *sigloi* of the same standard: the later, heavier *siglos* standard of between c. 5.40 and 5.67g (Noe 1956, 42). The following list shows a small but characteristic sample of some objects whose first mention in the records of the Pronaos of the Parthenon occurred in 424/3 BC and the previous few years.

Object	Wt in Attic drachmae	Wt in grams	sigloi	Average weight	T-M drachmae	Average weight
3 silver drinking horns	528	2275.68	416.25	5.47	666	3.42
7 silver phialai	700					
2 silver phialai	200					
4 silver phialai	329	1417.99	250	5.67	400	3.54
Chalcidian silver cup	40					
7 silver phialai	910	3922.1	700	5.6	1120	3.5
7 silver phialai	643 dr. 2 obols	2772.76	500	5.54	800	3.46

(Thompson 1981, 305-306)

The figures of 700, 200 and 40 drachmae presumably refer to objects made according to the local weight standard, but the others look odd; the last one in particular. But when 643 dr. 2 obols is looked at more closely it translates readily into either 500 Persian silver sigloi or 800 Thraco-Macedonian drachmae. (The average weight of Thraco-Macedonian drachmae is around 3.48g, within the range of c. 3.25 to 3.70; cf. Price & Waggoner 1975, 28-31, Nos 25-56). Quite which is meant here is uncertain, for when two weight standards have a fixed ratio, they can often be as easily read in one unit as in the other. In other cases we can speculate with a little more confidence. Seven silver phialai weighing 700 sigloi were probably made to a Persian rather than a Thracian standard, as were also perhaps the four silver phialai. Drinking horns, however, were a characteristic Thracian drinking vessel, and the 528 drachmai convert happily into the number of the Beast. The Parthenon inventories will be discussed more fully elsewhere (Vickers, 1989, 1990).

Dalboki:

The close relationship between the Persian and Thraco-Macedonian silver standards was a relic of the days of Persian occupation of the area in question. Much of the silver plate found in Thrace and Macedonia was made according to one standard or the other. Thus the silver beakers from the Thracian burial at Dalboki in Bulgaria (Prochorov 1880; Oliver 1977, 30, No. 5; Catalogue Leningrad 1985, 18-19, No. 9; Gill 1986, 17, 24, fig. 26) appear to have been made according to the *siglos* standard. Two are in Oxford and the other is in Leningrad. Irene Saverkina of the Hermitage was recently kind enough to provide the weight of the beaker in her keeping. The total weight of the three beakers is 560 grams, which easily converts to 100 *sigloi*, a coin whose ideal weight was around 5.6 grams.

Rogozen:

Very many finds of gold and silver have been made in Bulgaria, in Central and Northern Thrace (London Catalogue 1986, 10). The bulk of them were hidden in an emergency which seems to have occurred between about 330 and 320, although I must confess that my inclination to think in terms of those dates is coloured by the knowledge that there was a severe drought in the Aegean and surrounding areas at that time (cf. Isager and Hansen 1975, 200-8; Camp 1982). Panagyurishte is by far the richest hoard discovered so far, but the 165 pieces of silver in the Rogozen hoard found in 1985 and 1986 and publicised with admirable speed by the Bulgarian authorities (Sofia Catalogue 1986; Moscow Catalogue 1986; London Catalogue 1986) have added a great deal to our knowledge of ancient silver plate.

Nearly all the objects from Rogozen were *phialai* and jugs. Two groups, one of 100 objects, the other of 65, were found. When the Rogozen Treasure was in London, it was possible (thanks to the kindness of Aleksandr Fol, Brian Cook and Ian Jenkins) to weigh the individual pieces, and with Dan Quillen, the Waynflete Professor of Pure Mathematics at Oxford, lending a guiding hand figures like those in the following list emerged (For a complete list, see Vickers 1989). These figures are typical: with but a few exceptions the weights could easily be read in terms of Persian sigloi or Thraco-Macedonian drachmae — insofar as it is possible to do so at all given the damaged condition of some of the pieces).

Catalogue Number	Shape & Inventory Numbers	Wt in grams	sigloi	Weight	T-M drachmae	Weight
1	Phiale B-590 22301	337.69	60	5.62	96	3.51
2	Phiale B-428 22302	253.52	45	5.58	72	3.49
3	Phiale B-586 22303	171.48	30	5.67	48	3.54
4	Phiale B-464 22304	182.83	33.33	5.52	53	3.47
5	Phiale B-514 22305	69.22	12.5	5.52	20	3.45
94	Phiale B-429 22394	178.04	32	5.56	52	3.42
95	Phiale B-543 22395	170.29	31	5.50	50	3.41
96	Phiale B-556 22396	67.92	12	5.66	19.5	3.48
97	Phiale B-465 22397	281.66	50	5.61	80	3.51
98	Phiale B-491 22398	50.78	9.5	5.39	15	3.41

No. 2 is a silver phiale with large lobes and a stylised floral pattern. Anyone would, I think, have attributed it to a Persian source, but it is good to have this apparently confirmed by the weight of 45 sigloi. The weight of No. 4, a very beautiful phiale decorated with Auge and Heracles, is a third of 100 sigloi which makes it fall easily into the Persian rather than the Thracian weight standard, and it is easy to imagine that it may have been imported from a Greek city on the western seaboard of Asia Minor. The phiale No. 97 decorated with stylised winged horned lions could just as easily be 50 sigloi as 80 Thraco-Macedonian drachmai, but its decorative scheme strongly suggests that it too was imported from Anatolia. Similar in conception, though probably earlier, is a silver phiale in the Metropolitan Museum decorated with a series of reliefs of the Great King walking on eagles' heads (Bothmer 1981, 195-6, fig. 2; idem 1984, 25, No. 18) — a golden eagle was the standard of the Great King (Xen. *Anab.* I 10,4; *Cyr.* VII 1,4; cf. Nylander 1983). No one, I think, has ever doubted an Asia Minor provenance for this piece, and it is also interesting to note that its weight converts neatly to 45 sigloi. Indeed, many of the silver objects acquired during the past few years by the Metropolitan seem to have been made according to a Persian *siglos* standard, and I am glad to say that Dietrich von Bothmer concurs with this view, having arrived at it independently.

Some of the pieces in both groups in the Rogozen hoard are badly damaged. Nevertheless, their total weight of 19.91 kilos is equivalent to 3600 silver sigloi whose average weight is 5.53 grams. There is a 'slightly chipped' Achaemenid weight from Persepolis which weighs 9.95 kilos (x 2 = 19.9 kilos) and inscribed '120 karsha' in Old Persian (Kent 1950, 114, 157 [Wc]) and '20 minae' in Babylonian (Schmidt 1939, 62-3, fig. 43). It seems likely that the Rogozen hoard represented a notional load of 240 karsha or 40 minae. A 'round' overall weight was arrived at despite the damage and loss suffered by some of the pieces, and this in turn implies that all the silver objects were destined for the melting pot, the usual fate of silver through the ages from antiquity to the present day (cf. Reitlinger 1963, 14; Seemann & Ward 1984).

If it had not been for the unusual conditions — whatever they were — which prevailed in Thrace in the later fourth century, very few of the pieces we have would have survived to the present. Thanks to the accident of survival we have a glimpse of gold and silver in Thrace at a particular moment in time. If, though, we subscribed to the view that "in all archaeological studies we are restricted to consideration of what has survived" (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 203) we should be forgiven for concluding that only late fourth century Thracians were rich enough, or perhaps even had bad enough taste, to rival the Persians in their use of precious metal. I owe to my colleague Roger Moorey the insight that even if the contents of rich archaeological finds might be exceptional, there is no reason to think that they were necessarily remarkable at the time of deposit.

Greek gold and silver:

There is thus no reason to disbelieve the texts and records which speak of Greek wealth in the fifth century in terms with which a rich Persian might recognise. Pindar reflects the Greek aristocratic norm when he states that 'one man is gladdened by honours and crowns won by windswift horses, another by living in rooms rich in gold' (fr. 221). Indeed, whenever the material of a vessel being used by a member of one of the wealthier classes at Athens during the fifth century is specified, it is always of gold or silver. More than a hundred gold and silver vessels of all sizes, from small dishes to large wine mixing bowls, are referred to by ancient writers who deal with this period of Athens' history. There is no basis at all in the evidence we have from antiquity for the view that fear of *hybris* prevented the use of precious metal vases in Greece (Strong 1964). It is true that most of the evidence we have regarding plate in Greece derives from sanctuaries (Lewis 1986; Linders 1987), but this again is due to the accident of survival. There are sufficient references to the use of plate in private life to justify the view that the richest regularly used gold and silver (e.g. Vickers 1985a, 112-17). Indeed, it is interesting to note that this point has been conceded by those who would defend the privileged position of painted ceramics in the Greek world (Robertson 1985, 26; Boardman 1987, 289; Cook 1987, 170). One suspects that the richest Greeks would have shared the Persian attitude to pottery: "Whom the Great King wished to dishonour was made to use ceramic vessels" (Ath. XI 464.a).

The gold phiale with which Demus, son of Pyrilampes, tried to raise a loan at Athens in the early fourth century provides an interesting example of the use of plate in a social, rather than a religious, context. We learn from Lysias 19.25 that it had been given to Demus by the Great King as a *symbolon* of his friendship. He undertook to give it to a compatriot as security for a loan of sixteen minae so that he could fit out a ship for the Cypriot campaign. "When he arrived in Cyprus, he would redeem it with a payment of twenty minae, for thanks to this *symbolon* he would have the benefit of many goods and much money throughout the continent [of Asia]." It is difficult to think of the circumstances in which the value of Demus's phiale could be less than twenty minae. Nor is it likely that it was significantly more, for otherwise a larger loan would have been sought. The twenty minae, however, are to be thought of as silver minae whereas the phiale was of gold.

The ratio of gold to silver in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was extremely variable (Lewis 1986). It is thus not as easy at it might at first appear to make an accurate conversion from one metal to the other. It is possible, though, that the bowl's Persian origin might prove helpful in establishing which gold-silver ratio Demus had in mind when he tried to raise his loan. David Lewis has pointed out in the context of events little more than a decade earlier that although the Persians continued to make their coins on weights which presupposed a ratio of silver to gold of 13.3:1, "the market rate at the end of the [fifth] century was 10.5:1" (Lewis 1977, 131-2, n. 138); this to explain why Cyrus the pretender's payment of a soothsayer on the eve of Cunaxa in 401 B.C. (Xen. *Anab.* I 7,18) was at the rate of twenty (silver) drachmae (weighing 4.25-4.32 grams) to one (gold) daric (weighing 8.25-8.46 grams). If in 390 this was still the 'conventional equivalent', then Demus's phiale worth 2000 drachmae was worth 100 darics, a suggestively round number. I have already suggested that Demus' *phiale* resembled the acorn *phiale* in New York (Vickers 1984 [1988]), and shall adduce further evidence in support of this view elsewhere (Vickers, forthcoming).

Seleucus' gift to Didyma:

In conclusion, a further exercise in metrology. In 288/7 B.C., Seleucus I wrote a letter describing the gold objects he proposed to present to the shrine of Apollo at Didyma. Not only is the total weight given (3248 drachmae 3 obols; in fact, one drachma more than the total weight of the individual items), but the individual weights are mentioned as well. There are brief descriptions of the objects and an indication of the deities to whom they were dedicated. They seem to have been made according to a Persian weight standard. I have tabulated them as follows:

Deity	Shape	Weight in drachmae @ 4.32g	Wt in grams	Darics	Average weight in grams
Agathe Tyche	*Phiale karyote*	247	1067.04		
Osiris	*Phiale karyote*	190	820.80		
Leto	*Phiale karyote*	198 3 ob.	857.52		
		Subtotal	2745.36	330	8.32
Hecate	*Phiale aktinote*	113	488.16		
Artemis	Double deer head *rhyton*	161	695.52		
		Subtotal	1183.68	140	8.45
Apollo	Pair of double deer head *rhyta*	318 3 ob.	1375.92	165	8.39
Zeus Soter	Horn	173 3 ob	749.52	90	8.32
Theoi Soteiroi	*Oinochoe*	386	1667.52	200	8.38
Sotira	*Psykter*	372	1607.04	190	8.46
	Bread Platter	1088	4700.16	560	8.39
		Total	14039.20	1675	8.37

(after Welles 1934, 34-40, No. 5; cf. Günther 1977-78)

Individually the three *phialai karyotai* do not make for round numbers in darics (aproximately 128, 98 and 103), but when they are taken together they add up to 330: "the number is a round one" in the ancient Near East according to A.H. Sayce (1883, 177, n. 1). *Phialai* are in any case weighed together in groups (see above, p. 000), and the evidence of the Dalboki beakers suggests how several objects might be made together with a view to achieving a round common weight. They were clearly *phialai* decorated with acorns (*karyon* = nut; cf. Vickers 1985b, 23; Lewis 1986, 77) akin to, indeed interchangeable with, *phialai balanotai* (Lewis, *loc. cit.*), and we might well think of Seleucus' gifts as resembling the Panagyurishte and New York *phialai*. Whether they came from an Achaemenid Persian source or were made more recently according to a Persian weight standard is impossible to say. Achaemenid standards do seem to have survived on a local basis for a considerable time after the introduction of Alexander's gold staters (cf. Hassoullier 1902, 238-40; Vickers forthcoming)

Much credit should be given to Andrew Oliver Jr, who organised the exhibition *Silver for the Gods* in the United States a few years ago. He suspected that the weights of the objects he selected might prove to be significant, and that "correlations with the weights of round numbers of silver coins might be established" (Oliver 1977, 15). He therefore weighed all the objects in his catalogue and, more importantly, published the results. In the event, only Attic weights were applied, but since only one piece out of over a hundred was thought to have had 'real significance' the results were with some justice said to have been disappointing. With hindsight, we can see that had Persian weights been applied, more pieces might have proved to be metrologically significant. Thus, for example, the lion-handled pitcher in Brooklyn from Tell el-Maskuta in Egypt weighs 561.3 grams (Oliver 1977, 34, No. 8), equivalent to 100 *sigloi* whose average weight is 5.61 grams. (A similar pitcher in the Metropolitan Museum [Bothmer 1984, 33, No. 38] weighs 850.6 grams: 150 *sigloi* at 5.67 grams. Much more can be achieved if only weights are given in publications. The ancients took such matters seriously, and it is time that more archaeologists did.

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GLI IONI TRA GRECI E PERSIANI: IL PROBLEMA DELL'IDENTITÀ IONICA NEL DIBATTITO CULTURALE E POLITICO DEL V SECOLO

Mauro Corsaro — Pisa

E' noto che i Greci, pur avendo già da tempo coscienza della comunanza di sangue, di lingua, di religione e di costumi che li distingueva dagli altri popoli, solo nel V secolo approfondiscono i caratteri della loro identità 'nazionale'. Questa ricerca dei caratteri distintivi dell'*hellenikon* — dato che avviene in un momento di forte contrapposizione ad un nemico esterno che sembra minacciare l'identità e la stessa sopravvivenza dell'*ethnos* — acquista spesso i tratti di un acceso 'nazionalismo' (Pugliese Carratelli 1966, 147s.). Uno dei modi in cui ciò si manifesta è, ad esempio, nella nuova idea di *barbaros* (dietro la quale è da vedere essenzialmente il Persiano) che matura a quest'epoca.

Ma per renderci conto a pieno della novità della riflessione greca sulla questione dei barbari nel periodo successivo alle guerre persiane, dobbiamo forse analizzare in breve il modo in cui questa nozione si è formata. Per questo aspetto risulta essenziale il ruolo svolto dalle città ioniche dell'Asia Minore. Esse sono state infatti, per lungo tempo, luogo privilegiato di contatto fra mondo greco e mondo orientale, zona di confronto e di acculturazione fra Greci, popolazioni indigene (Lidi, Frigi, Cari, ecc.) ed infine Persiani. Sono gli Ioni, i primi fra i Greci ad essere venuti in contatto con quei Kares *barbarophonoi* che, secondo il catalogo dei Troiani dell'Iliade (B 867), abitavano Mileto. E' in Ionia quindi che si è cominciato a definire 'parlanti in modo barbaro' quei popoli che non sapevano parlare bene il greco o che parlavano una lingua tale da risultare ad un orecchio greco incomprensibile e confusa come un balbettio. E' ancora un intellettuale ionico, Eraclito di Efeso, a sostenere alla fine del VI secolo o poco dopo che «sono cattivi testimoni per gli uomini occhi ed orecchi quando hanno un'anima barbara» (B 107 Diels-Kranz^6). Ma, in questo caso, l'aggettivo *barbaros* non ha una connotazione geografica ed è usato metaforicamente per indicare un'anima che è incapace di sottoporre le sensazioni al vaglio della ragione. L'uso di *barbaros* nel senso generico di non-greco è invece chiaramente attestato da un passo di Ecateo (*FGrH* 1 F119). Ma nel frammento ecataico l'aggettivo sembra avere un valore descrittivo, in apparenza neutro, che è proprio della logografia ionica ed ancora in parte di Erodoto. La nozione di *barbaros* ha dunque nel mondo greco sin da Omero un valore peggiorativo, cui si accompagna nell'uso della logografia ionica del VI secolo anche un valore puramente descrittivo per designare i popoli non-greci (Lévy 1984).

Pur essendo quindi propria della tradizione greca una accezione negativa di *barbaros*, è solo intorno alla metà del V secolo che si costruisce nel mondo greco (soprattutto continentale e in particolare ad Atene) un'ideologia antibarbarica che aggiunge alla connotazione negativa del barbaro ereditata dalla tradizione precedente nuovi elementi (Diller 1961, 44ss.; Thébert 1980, 101ss.). Alla base di questa ideologia (che, come vedremo, è da mettere in stretta connessione tanto con le guerre persiane quanto con l'elaborazione della nuova identità civica dei Greci) c'è l'idea che i barbari (identificati ormai quasi esclusivamente coi Persiani) siano uomini di inferiori capacità militari, inaffidabili, disposti a vivere da schiavi, privi del senso di autonomia che caratterizza l'uomo greco, inclini a condurre una vita molle ed effeminata. Questa ideologia dal carattere fortemente 'nazionalista' rappresentava, per certi versi, qualcosa di nuovo e di diverso rispetto all'idea pur negativa di *barbaros* che si aveva in precedenza ed assumeva soprattutto un carattere potenzialmente traumatico rispetto alla situazione esistente nel mondo ionico, dove da tempo esisteva una sorta di *koiné* culturale fra Greci e non-greci (Mazzarino 1947, 85ss.).

Secondo quel che ci testimonia la lirica greca, determinati oggetti di lusso tipici del mondo lidio (come la *mitra*), unguenti e profumi (come la *bakkaris*), erano molto apprezzati non solo dai ceti aristocratici delle città ioniche ma anche da quelli dello stesso continente greco.[1] Certe salse lidie come la *karyke* (Men. F.397 Sandbach) o certi piatti come il *kandaulos* (Athen. XII 516 C) erano diventati famosi in tutto il mondo greco: e ciò era avvenuto certamente grazie alla mediazione ionica (Asheri 1983, 26). Ma per non limitarci all'influsso lidio solo su determinati aspetti della vita sociale ionica quali la cucina e l'abbigliamento (che poi sono quelli messi, spesso polemicamente, in rilievo dalla tradizione greca), bisogna tener presente che proprio dalla Lidia le città ioniche hanno appreso l'uso della moneta coniata: un'invenzione che ha avuto un effetto 'rivoluzionario' su tutta la vita economica e sociale del mondo antico.

Anche se i rapporti fra *poleis* ioniche e monarchia lidia, nel periodo che va da Gige a Creso, furono contrassegnati da guerre e conflitti (Talamo 1983), tuttavia a poco a poco fra l'aristocrazia di queste città e la casa reale lidia si crearono legami di carattere culturale e politico tali da rendere, in qualche caso, possibili matrimoni fra esponenti dell'aristocrazia cittadina e membri della famiglia reale mermnade.[2] Ma i re lidi non si limitavano ad avere contatti col mondo delle *poleis* greche d'Asia Minore, essi coltivavano rapporti di amicizia con i Cipselidi di Corinto (Hdt. III 48), con gli Spartani (Hdt. I 69), col *genos* ateniese degli Alcmeonidi (Hdt. VI 125): rapporti che erano favoriti e rafforzati dalla comune devozione di monarchi mermnadi e famiglie aristocratiche greche verso il santuario di Delfi. Non desta quindi meraviglia che Erodoto, alla fine del suo *logos* lidio, affermi che i Lidi hanno costumi (*nomoi*) simili a quelli dei Greci, a parte il fatto che le figlie femmine si prostituiscono (I 94,1). Considerati dunque i legami esistenti col mondo lidio, ben si comprende come le città ioniche abbiano visto con apprensione il sorgere ad est del nuovo impero persiano ed abbiano rifiutato — dopo lo scontro fra Lidi e Persiani avvenuto in Cappadocia — le proposte di Ciro di ribellarsi al re lidio e di passare dalla sua parte (Hdt. I 76,3, cf. I 141,3). L'inaspettata caduta di Sardi mise Ioni ed Eoli in grave difficoltà e furono questa volta essi ad inviare a Ciro messaggeri per chiedere di diventare suoi sudditi alle stesse condizioni che avevano goduto sotto Creso. Ma il rifiuto opposto dal re persiano, che accettò di concedere condizioni favorevoli solo ai Milesi, costrinse gli Ioni a circondarsi di mura, a raccogliersi al Panionio e a chiedere aiuto agli Spartani (Hdt. I 141). L'incorporazione delle città greche d'Asia nell'impero di Ciro avvenne solo qualche anno dopo: ai Persiani fu necessario domare prima una rivolta lidia e poi condurre un'energica campagna di conquista.

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[1] Per la *mitra* lidia si vedano Sapph. F98 Voigt; Alcm. F1,67 Page. Per la *bakkaris* Hipp. F107,21 Degani; Semon. F16 West; Aristoph. F336 Kassel-Austin con le osservazioni di Lombardo 1983, 1090.

[2] Hdt. I 92,3; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F63; Aelian. *V.H.* III 6.

La vittoria persiana produsse non pochi sconvolgimenti: gli abitanti di Focea preferirono imbarcarsi per la Corsica, quelli di Teo partirono con le navi alla volta della Tracia (Hdt. I 164-165; 168). Fra gli esuli di Teo si trovava anche il poeta Anacreonte; per Senofane di Colofone l'arrivo dei Medi in Ionia segnò l'inizio dell'esilio (F13 Gentili-Prato). Nonostante gli iniziali timori da parte greca, non pare che i monarchi achemenidi abbiano cercato di intromettersi eccessivamente nella vita interna delle città né che abbiano imposto ai nuovi sudditi la propria cultura o la propria religione. Il ritratto che Erodoto ci ha lasciato di Ciro e che risale probabilmente ad ambienti greci o di Lidi grecizzati, è quello di un rozzo uomo d'armi con scarsa esperienza di questioni economiche (I 88-89) e ignaro dei meccanismi politici ed economici che regolavano la vita delle città (I 153), ma dai modi paterni (III 89,3). Successivamente nel mondo greco Ciro sarà addirittura preso a modello di sovrano ideale (basti pensare alla *Ciropedia* di Senofonte).

Più complesso è il quadro che del successore di Ciro, Cambise, ci ha lasciato la tradizione greca: prevalgono tuttavia largamente in essa gli elementi negativi. Il re persiano è visto come un despota folle, colpevole di *hybris* e irrispettoso delle tradizioni religiose (Lloyd 1988a). E' quindi probabile che una maggiore integrazione dell'elemento greco nell'organizzazione imperiale si sia verificata solo a partire dal momento in cui ascese al trono un grande sovrano riformatore come Dario I.

Il Gran Re cominciò infatti ad attrarre a sé uomini di scienza, marinai, ingegneri e artigiani utilizzandone le capacità tecniche per rafforzare l'impero (e ciò significava anche un maggiore interventismo del sovrano nella vita delle *poleis*). Basta qui ricordare figure come quella di Scilace di Carianda che esplorò l'Indo e il Mar Rosso per conto di Dario (Hdt. IV 44) o quella dell'architetto samio Mandrocle, il quale, dopo aver costruito intorno al 513 un ponte di barche sul Bosforo per permettere il passaggio dell'esercito persiano, dedicò la decima di quel che aveva ricevuto dal Gran Re alla Era samia facendo dipingere un quadro, in cui era rappresentato «tutto il lavoro compiuto per gettare il ponte sul Bosforo e il re Dario assiso su un trono, mentre il suo esercito era in atto di attraversare il ponte» (Hdt. IV 87-88). In lui convivevano, dunque, senza problemi la devozione per la divinità protettrice della propria *polis* e l'ammirazione per il Gran Re, autore di grandi imprese. La stessa storia del crotoniate Democede che, dopo la caduta di Policrate di Samo, divenne medico di corte a Susa e partecipò come osservatore ad una spedizione inviata da Dario in Occidente per avere informazioni sulla Grecia (Hdt. III 129-138), pur non essendo credibile in tutti i particolari, ci può far comprendere i diversi modi in cui un intellettuale greco poteva collaborare alla politica imperiale persiana.[3] Ma a prescindere da queste figure di spicco, non bisogna dimenticare che, sin dall'epoca di Ciro, intagliatori di pietra ionici erano costantemente utilizzati dai Persiani per la costruzione dei grandi palazzi imperiali.[4]

Anche il fiorire a quest'epoca della scienza etno-geografica ionica è da mettere, in qualche modo, in relazione con gli interessi amministrativi e politici dell'impero persiano: è stato giustamente osservato che la distinzione fra 'Asia superiore' e 'Asia inferiore' che troviamo in un documento ufficiale quale è la lettera inviata da Dario I al satrapo Gadata (Syll.^{3} 22), risale probabilmente a Ecateo e alla scienza geografica ionica (Mazzarino 1947, 67-69). E' quindi, più che altro, la grande organizzazione imperiale persiana — la possibilità che essa dava di viaggiare e di muoversi da una parte all'altra del mondo, le occasioni che essa offriva di valorizzare le capacità professionalio intellettuali di chi lavorava al proprio servizio — ad aver esercitato un certo fascino sul mondo greco d'Asia (e non solo su di esso). Se riflettiamo sul tipo di parole che generalmente dal persiano sono penetrate nella lingua greca (ad es. *angareion*, *artabes*, *parasanges*, *satrapeie*, *paradeisos*) ci rendiamo conto che i Greci hanno avuto con i Persiani un rapporto di acculturazione di carattere principalmente burocratico-amministrativo.[5] Come testimonia la già menzionata lettera di Dario I a Gadata, il carattere sovranazionale dell'impero persiano permetteva che un determinato tipo di piante originarie della regione dell'Oltre Eufrate fosse trapiantato nei *paradeisoi* regi dell'Asia Minore: è a questo livello che si è sviluppata un'importante forma di acculturazione fra aree geografiche diverse appartenenti all'impero.

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[3] Pecca forse di eccessivo scetticismo la posizione di Griffiths 1987, 37ss.

[4] Sui debiti che l'architettura achemenide ha nei confronti di quella ionica e di quella lidia cf. Gullini 1972, 13ss. Sui Greci al servizio del Gran Re si veda da ultimo l'utile sintesi di Picard 1980, 51-64.

[5] Si veda in particolare il lavoro di Armayor 1978, 155-156.

Un altro elemento da non trascurare è il fatto che era di origine persiana anche una parte (e certamente quella di rango più elevato) della classe dirigente delle satrapie. Oltre che ai satrapi stessi, mi riferisco ovviamente sia ai funzionari delle corti satrapiche sia ai soldati che fungevano da guardie del corpo o che venivano dislocati nelle guarnigioni poste a controllo del territorio. Sappiamo che Orete, satrapo di Sardi nel VI secolo, aveva una guardia del corpo costituita da mille *doryphoroi* persiani (Hdt. III 127) e che era, in genere, formata da nobili persiani la cavalleria di cui i satrapi disponevano (cf. ad es. Xenoph. *Hell.* IV 1,17; III 4,10; *Anab.* I 2,4; I 8,6). Gli alti funzionari e i nobili persiani che si trasferivano nelle satrapie avevano in concessione dal Gran Re degli appezzamenti di terreno, nei quali si insediavano come 'signori rurali' vivendo in castelli o piazzeforti (Sekunda 1985, 7ss.).

Della presenza iranica sono, del resto, rimaste numerose tracce in Asia Minore: essa si può cogliere (anche se è necessario usare una certa cautela) nell'onomastica, nella toponomastica, nei culti e in monumenti archeologici di vario tipo e destinazione.[6] Ovviamente, i Persiani erano maggiormente presenti in quelle regioni che costituivano il cuore amministrativo dell'impero: a Sardi e in Lidia ce n'erano, ad esempio, molti.[7] Essi avevano propri culti ma rischiavano costantemente di subire l'influsso religioso del mondo circostante: una ordinanza del satrapo di Sardi vietava nel IV secolo ai *neocoroi* persiani di partecipare ai misteri di alcune divinità frigie (Robert 1975, 306ss.). Alla eccessiva vicinanza con la Lidia i Greci facevano risalire il pericolo che Efeso, alla fine del V secolo, si imbarbarisse: la città aveva infatti contatti continui con gli usi e i costumi persiani dato che i soldati del Gran Re erano acquartierati nei suoi pressi (Plut. *Lys.* 3,2).

L'apertura della *polis* ionica al mondo orientale è, del resto, un dato costante della sua storia. Erodoto ricorda — quasi a mettere in evidenza il carattere particolare della città rispetto alle altre *poleis* ioniche — che gli Efesi erano i soli tra gli Ioni (insieme ai Colofoni) a non celebrare la tradizionale festa ionica delle Apaturie (I 147,2). Aspetti sincretistici greco-persiani assunse a Efeso il culto di Artemide: divinità il cui *neokoros* portava il nome persiano di *Megabyxos* (Benveniste 1966, 108ss.) e verso la quale mostravano grande devozione satrapi e alti funzionari persiani (Thuc. VIII 109; Xenoph. *Hell.* I 2,6). Il sincretismo religioso che riscontriamo nella città non fa che riflettere il carattere misto e composito della popolazione che vi viveva. La mistione di razze, usi e costumi è d'altronde tipica di tutta l'Asia Minore — anche delle zone di più intensa presenza greca. Di ciò sembra essere consapevole Erodoto quando sostiene che gli Ioni d'Asia, ben lungi dall'essere un *ethnos* puro e omogeneo, erano, si, Ioni ma mescolati ad Abanti, a Mini, a Cadmei, a Driopi e ad altre popolazioni sia greche che non-greche (Hdt. I 146,1). Lo storico di Alicarnasso pensava inoltre che anche i Milesi, che si ritenevano i più nobili fra essi perché avevano preso le mosse dal Pritaneo di Atene, avessero sposato, una volta approdati in Asia, donne carie mescolandosi quindi alla popolazione locale (I 146,2).

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[6] Cf. Raditsa 1983, 100ss. Ma per la prudenza che bisogna avere nel valutare la presenza di tracce persiane in Asia Minore si veda Briant 1985a, 167ss.

[7] Sulla persistenza di nomi iranici a Sardi nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. si veda ora Masson 1987, 237ss.

La Ionia viene rappresentata come un luogo in cui vivono confusi *ethne* diversi anche nella scena di apertura delle Baccanti di Euripide (vv. 13-20), in cui appare Dioniso che narra delle sue peregrinazioni attraverso l'Oriente per raggiungere infine l'Asia (che qui ha il significato ristretto di Ionia) «la quale si adagia lungo il mare salmastro con le sue città belle di torri, dove vivono confusi Greci e barbari».

L'idea che gli Ioni fossero un *ethnos* misto in quanto in essi si erano fusi sia popolazioni greche di varia provenienza sia elementi barbarici, è dunque presente nelle fonti greche del V secolo e merita di essere analizzata più dettagliatamente. Ad essa ne è legata un'altra, che cioè le città ioniche — data la loro sottomissione politica prima ai Lidi e poi ai Persiani — abbiano subito un forte influsso nella mentalità e nel costume da parte di queste popolazioni orientali.[8]

Il problema di chi fossero gli Ioni e di come ci si dovesse comportare nei loro confronti si pose al mondo greco continentale nel periodo immediatamente successivo alla battaglia di Micale del 479 a.C. (ma qualcosa di simile era già avvenuto in precedenza, vale a dire al momento della caduta del regno di Creso e quando era scoppiata la rivolta ionica). E non si trattava di discussioni che riguardavano semplicemente la purezza etnica di una popolazione di origine greca che in tempi ormai lontani aveva colonizzato le remote terre d'Asia: esse investivano problemi politici e militari più immediati, e cioè, in particolare, se e come proteggere la libertà dei Greci d'Asia dai Persiani. A quel che dice Erodoto, subito dopo Micale fu tenuta appunto dai confederati greci una riunione a Samo, in cui si discusse dell'opportunità o meno che i Greci abbandonassero l'Asia Minore (IX 106). I Peloponnesiaci erano del parere che gli Ioni dovessero trasferirsi in massa nel continente greco, prendendo il posto di quelle popolazioni abitanti in luoghi marittimi di commercio che durante la guerra avevano parteggiato per i Persiani. Questa proposta era dettata dalla convinzione che essi fossero incapaci di difendersi da soli e che i continui conflitti con l'impero achemenide finissero col coinvolgere contro la loro volontà i Greci del continente (in ciò si manifestava, ancora una volta, la tendenza isolazionistica spartana, e cioè la profonda diffidenza dei Lacedemoni ad imbarcarsi in imprese militari al di fuori dei confini del Peloponneso).[9] Ma ad essa si opposero con vigore gli Ateniesi, i quali non volevano che la Ionia fosse privata dei suoi abitanti e che soprattutto fossero gli Spartani a decidere del destino delle colonie ateniesi.

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[8] Sul fatto che i Greci considerassero negativamente l'acquisizione di una cultura diversa dalla loro e concepissero quindi i processi di acculturazione a senso unico cf. Dubuisson 1982, 15ss.

Se prendiamo dunque il 479 come data iniziale del dibattito sull'identità ionica, dobbiamo constatare che mentre nel mondo dorico prevaleva una visione svalutativa dell'*ethnos* ionico, nell'Atene temistoclea se ne metteva invece in rilievo l'affinità di stirpe con la madrepatria attica. Alla proposta spartana di fronteggiare la Persia chiudendosi entro i confini del continente greco e quindi arretrando, gli Ateniesi rispondono con una politica più aperta e dinamica che si propone di mantenere in Asia la frontiera tra Persia e mondo greco. Se nella posizione spartana del 479 c'è polemica anti-ionica, non c'è invece alcun elemento polemico nella posizione ateniese che, ribadendo i legami di *syngeneia* esistenti tra il popolo attico e quello ionico,[10] pone in questo modo le basi per la formazione della Lega delio-attica (cf. Thuc. I 95,1).

In un certo senso, a quest'epoca Atene si sente ancora vicina alla Ionia: di una vicinanza simile a quella che nel 493-2 gli Ateniesi avevano sentito per Mileto caduta nelle mani dei Persiani. In quella occasione essi avevano inflitto una multa di mille dracme al poeta Frinico che, rappresentando una tragedia sulla presa di Mileto, aveva fatto scoppiare in lacrime il pubblico che vi assisteva. Il poeta, come riferisce Erodoto (VI 21), era stato condannato perché aveva ricordato agli Ateniesi sventure 'nazionali' (*oikeia kakà*). E che la presa di Mileto potesse essere considerata ad Atene una sventura 'nazionale' sta a dimostrare quanto fosse sentito a quell'epoca il legame tra la città e la sua colonia ionica.

Tuttavia, negli anni successivi (man mano che si andava consolidando la Lega delio-attica sotto la direzione ateniese) si osserva una progressiva diffusione anche ad Atene di idee e pregiudizi negativi sugli Ioni. Per capire come ci sia potuto accadere, dobbiamo prendere in considerazione talune caratteristiche politiche e culturali di quel periodo della storia ateniese che si suol chiamare 'età cimoniana' (478-461 a.C.). Di Cimone, figlio di Milziade, sappiamo che era un uomo ricco, il quale univa sentimenti personali conservatori e filo-spartani ad una estrema fedeltà allo stato ateniese. Di lui è ben nota la tendenza a considerare la politica greca come fondata su una diarchia fra Atene e Sparta che avesse come scopo la liberazione dei Greci d'Asia dall'egemonia persiana: e ciò spiega perché il suo attivismo militare sia stato, in certo modo, tollerato da Sparta.[11] Ma l'aspetto che più ci preme mettere in evidenza dell'uomo politico ateniese è la sua aperta simpatia per lo stile di vita spartano. Un suo contemporaneo, Stesimbroto di Taso, dice infatti che a Cimone mancavano completamente la scioltezza e capacità di eloquio tipicamente attiche, ma che aveva invece un carattere rude franco e magnanimo come un peloponnesiaco (*FGrH* 107 F4). Egli inoltre spendeva i profitti ricavati dalle guerre per il bene dei concittadini; permetteva che forestieri e cittadini bisognosi raccogliessero liberamente i frutti dai suoi campi lasciati senza recinzioni; faceva imbandire ogni giorno a casa sua una mensa frugale per quanti volessero servirsene (Plut. *Cim.*, 10,1-3 cf. Piccirilli 1990, *ad loc.*). L'uso che egli faceva della sua ricchezza era dunque volto a creargli, come già osservava Gorgia da Leontini (B 20 Diels-Kranz^6), onore e prestigio presso i concittadini (e non sono esenti dal suo operato anche aspetti clientelari).[12]

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[9] Sulla politica isolazionistica spartana ben delineata da Tucidide (I 95,3ss.) in relazione all'accusa di medismo rivolta al re Pausania alla fine delle guerre persiane cf. Hahn 1969, 285ss.

[10] La tradizione di un'Atene metropoli delle città ioniche può forse farsi risalire già a Solone (F4 Gentili-Prato), il quale considera Atene la più antica terra della Ionia.

Ma quel che più importa mettere in evidenza è che egli voleva introdurre ad Atene qualcosa che ricordasse i sissizi spartani, anche se la sua mensa aveva un carattere 'democratico' ignoto alla città peloponnesiaca e che dipendeva dall'atmosfera politica esistente ad Atene dopo le riforme di Clistene. In altri termini, Cimone aveva come modello la sobrietà e la frugalità spartane; nella sua scelta di uno stile di vita austero era inoltre implicita una contrapposizione allo stile di vita orientale.[13] Già Archiloco sapeva che i monarchi orientali (nella fattispecie il *tyrannos* lidio Gige) possedevano grandi ricchezze (F19 West). I Medi vengono definiti *chrysophoroi* nell'epigramma che ricorda la vittoria ateniese a Maratona (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Histor. griech. Epigr.* n.12). Quando il milesio Aristagora, al tempo della rivolta ionica, andò a cercare aiuto prima a Sparta e poi ad Atene, non mancò di far rilevare ai suoi interlocutori che l'Asia abbondava di ricchezze quali argento, rame, vesti ricamate, ecc. (Hdt. V 49; 97). Ma l'essere ricchi produce sugli uomini effetti negativi, li spinge ad una vita lussuosa ed effeminata. Senofane aveva osservato che i Colofoni avevano appreso dai Lidi un inutile fasto, e nelle sue parole sembra implicita la condanna della vita lussuosa condotta dai suoi concittadini (F3 Gentili-Prato). L'efesio Eraclito additava nella ricchezza l'origine della infelice condizione della sua città (B 25 Diels-Kranz^6) ed osservava che gli Efesi avrebbero fatto meglio ad impiccarsi piuttosto che esiliare Ermodoro (B 121 Diels-Kranz^6), il legislatore che aveva emanato una norma contro il lusso nell'abbigliamento femminile (Polem. F96 Müller, cf. Schottlaender 1965, 25).

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[11] Ione di Chio (*FGrH* 392 F4) riferisce che Cimone convinse gli Ateniesi a prestar soccorso agli Spartani nel 462 con un discorso in cui li esortava a non tollerare che la Grecia diventasse zoppa e Atene senza una compagna di giogo. L'idea di Cimone che la Grecia dovesse essere retta da una doppia egemonia (ateniese sul mare, spartana sulla terra), era condivisa anche dalla classe dirigente spartana (Diod. XI 50 cf. Piccirilli 1988, 28).

[12] Su questo aspetto della sua personalità e della sua azione politica cf. Musti 1984, 129ss.

[13] In un frammento dell'*Omphale* di Ione di Chio (F67 Blumenthal), un intellettuale appartenente alla cerchia di Cimone, al lusso lidio si oppone la rudezza peloponnesiaca. La differenza fra la frugalità e la moderazione del banchetto spartano e gli eccessi nel bere e il turpiloquio di quello lidio, è messa in evidenza da Crizia (B 6 Diels-Kranz^6).

Alla ricchezza asiatica si contrappone la povertà greca (anche se la povertà non è un valore in sé, ma per il fatto che costituisce uno stimolo ad operare attivamente, a non impigrirsi). Dalla conversazione fra Demarato (re spartano in esilio diventato ormai consigliere di Serse) e il monarca achemenide apprendiamo che ai Greci è sempre stata compagna assidua la povertà, ma che ad essa si oppongono col coraggio (*aretè*) che è frutto della temperanza e della legge rigorosa e che evita loro di essere asserviti (Hdt. VII 102,1). Non è casuale che nelle parole di Demarato siano gli Spartani i rappresentanti di quella grecità austera, coraggiosa e libera che si contrappone al mondo orientale.

Si diceva in precedenza che ad Atene fu Cimone a cercare di introdurre uno stile di vita spartano: quando nel 463 a.C. fu chiamato in giudizio con l'accusa di essersi lasciato corrompere dal re di Macedonia, egli si difese dicendo che non era prosseno né di Ioni né di Tessali, uomini ricchi, ma solo di Spartani di cui imitava ed apprezzava la semplicità (*euteleia*) e la moderazione (*sophrosynè*), che per lui erano preferibili ad ogni ricchezza (Plut. *Cim.* 14,4). Nelle parole pronunciate pubblicamente da Cimone si possono cogliere due elementi: da una parte l'esaltazione del modo di vivere spartano, dall'altra l'assimilazione di Ioni e Tessali (che durante le guerre persiane erano stati dalla parte del Gran Re) agli orientali in quanto ricchi.

Un indizio del clima culturale anti-ionico esistente ad Atene nell'età cimoniana si può rilevare in una notizia di Tucidide a proposito del modo di vestirsi degli Ateniesi. Lo storico ci dice, infatti, che da non molto tempo ad Atene i vecchi tra i ricchi avevano smesso di portare chitoni di lino e di annodare i capelli con cicale (costume che essi condividevano con gli Ioni e che venne abbandonato perché era considerato segno di mollezza) per indossare abiti più modesti al modo degli Spartani (I 6,3). Di particolare interesse si rivelano due ulteriori osservazioni, e cioè che erano stati i più ricchi fra gli Spartani ad assumere per primi abitudini simili a quelle del popolo e che erano stati gli Spartani a denudarsi per primi durante gli esercizi ginnici, in opposizione al costume dei barbari (soprattutto d'Asia) che gareggiavano portando cinture intorno all'inguine (I 6,4-5). Di questa prevalenza ad Atene del costume dorico c'è traccia nei Persiani di Eschilo (tragedia rappresentata per la prima volta nel 472 con la coregia di Pericle), dove, nella visione notturna di Atossa, a simboleggiare i due popoli in conflitto (Greci e Persiani) appaiono due donne, l'una vestita con pepli persiani, l'altra dorici (vv. 183-184).[14] Ad Atene quindi, nel periodo attorno alle guerre persiane, si era verificato un cambiamento nel modo di vestire che aveva portato i ceti aristocratici ad abbandonare il costume ionico e ad adottare quello spartano (questa trasformazione era dovuta, da una parte, a spinte democratiche all'interno della *polis*, dall'altra alla necessità di prendere le distanze dal costume degli orientali).[15]

L'esistenza di forti sentimenti anti-ionici ci è testimoniata infine da Erodoto: nel suo *excursus* sulla Ionia lo storico di Alicarnasso ci fa sapere che, ad un certo momento, gli appartenenti all'*ethnos* ionico — ad eccezione di quelli che vivevano nella dodecapoli ionica d'Asia — non gradivano di essere chiamati Ioni, aggiungendo inoltre che ancora ai suoi tempi la maggior parte di essi provava vergogna di quel nome (I 143,3). Erodoto attribuiva pure al disprezzo per gli Ioni il fatto che Clistene, nella sua fondamentale riforma dello stato ateniese compiuta alla fine del VI secolo, avesse cambiato il nome alle tribù cittadine portandole da quattro a dieci (V 69).

A questo punto è forse opportuno chiedersi quali siano i motivi che hanno portato gli ateniesi a staccarsi progressivamente dall'*ethnos* ionico di cui pur facevano parte. Abbiamo già visto come nel periodo successivo alle guerre persiane acquista una nuova rilevanza la contrapposizione Greci-barbari. La ricerca dell'identità 'nazionale' greca — essendo dominata dal '*pathos* della distanza' rispetto ai barbari che sono identificati con gli Asiatici e, in particolare, coi Persiani — crea una frattura fra Europa ed Asia ignota all'epoca precedente. L'idea della frattura fra i due continenti — a causa del mare che li ha irrimediabilmente separati — ricorre ad esempio in un epigramma (attribuito, probabilmente a torto, a Simonide) che si pensa sia stato composto o in occasione della battaglia dell'Eurimedonte o di quella di Salamina di Cipro (*Anth. Palat.* VII 296; Diod. XI 62,3). Quest'idea viene attribuita da Erodoto anche ai Persiani quando scrive che essi «considerano l'Asia e i popoli che vi abitano come una cosa loro; mentre, invece, ritengono di non aver niente in comune con l'Europa e con il mondo greco in particolare» (I 4,4) e si ritrova all'inizio dei dodici versi greci della 'Grande Stele' di Xanto, la cui erezione si deve ad un dinasta licio della fine del V secolo (*TAM* I 44c). E' nel V secolo quindi che si comincia a pensare all'Asia e all'Europa come a due realtà radicalmente contrapposte; ed è a quest'epoca che tutto ciò che è orientale o è ritenuto tale viene considerato con disfavore da parte greca.

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[14] Nella tragedia eschilea ci sono altri elementi che si possono ricondurre al filo-laconismo d'età cimoniana: si veda, ad es., l'esaltazione della 'lancia dorica' che ha sconfitto l'esercito persiano a Platea (vv. 816-7).

[15] Cf. Geddes 1987, 307ss.

Ovviamente, in questa nuova atmosfera culturale sono i Greci che sono stati influenzati da mode e stili di vita orientali, quelli che sono stati conquistati e acculturati prima dai Lidi e poi dai Persiani, ad essere maggiormente criticati. E' questo il momento in cui una nozione come quella di *habrosyne* acquista un valore negativo o in cui iniziano ad essere usati vocaboli come *tryphé* o *chlidé* (tutti con accezione negativa) per indicare la rilassatezza dei costumi, l'effeminatezza, la debolezza d'animo tipica dei popoli orientali (Lombardo 1983, 1079). Ad influsso orientale si fa dunque risalire l'amore delle popolazioni ioniche per i cibi raffinati e abbondanti, per le vesti lussuose e purpuree, per la vita comoda e senza fatiche. Al costume ionico, tanto aspramente criticato, si oppone lo stile di vita che sembra prevalere in Grecia dopo le guerre persiane, vale a dire quello spartano che esalta i pasti frugali, le vesti semplici e disadorne e il coraggio militare. Di fronte ad un mondo ionico 'barbarizzato', la nuova coscienza 'nazionale' greca sembra far appello allo spirito isolazionistico ed autarchico tipico del mondo dorico.

Nel trattato ippocrateo su 'Arie, acque e luoghi' (scritto con ogni probabilità nella seconda metà del V secolo) si cerca di dare una spiegazione scientifica della fiacchezza di corpo e della viltà d'animo degli Asiatici, anche se in modo, per così dire, contraddittorio. Da una parte, si pensa che la loro mancanza di ardimento e di coraggio debba ricondursi alla mitezza del clima in cui essi vivono: al fatto che il clima è temperato, né troppo caldo né troppo freddo. Ciò determina abbondanza di raccolti e di bestiame e rende gli uomini bellissimi d'aspetto e ben nutriti, ma anche inoperosi, poco resistenti alla fatica e dediti alla ricerca del piacere (cap. 12). Dall'altra, gli Asiatici sono imbelli perché, essendo in genere governati da re, non sono signori di se stessi, autonomi, ma dipendono da un padrone. Tuttavia quanti fra essi, Greci o barbari, non sono sottoposti a un padrone, ma sono autonomi e faticano a proprio vantaggio, sono i più bellicosi di tutti (cap. 16). Anche se il clima sembra avere un effetto determinante nel distinguere il carattere degli Europei da quello degli Asiatici, è piuttosto la diversità dei regimi costituzionali in cui vivono i due popoli che sta alla base dell'inferiorità asiatica (Bottin 1986, 16ss.).

Analoghe riflessioni fa Erodoto a proposito degli Ateniesi allorché si erano liberati della tirannide dei Pisistratidi: essi quando erano sotto i tiranni non si distinguevano nelle arti militari da nessuno dei loro vicini, una volta liberi divennero i più potenti di tutti. E ciò perché quando erano schiavi si lasciavano vincere deliberatamente in quanto operavano in favore di un despota, dopo aver riacquistato la libertà operavano, invece, con impegno in vista del loro interesse (V 78). Altrove lo storico fa notare che i soldati persiani (proprio perchè asserviti ad un *tyrannos*) dovevano essere spinti alla battaglia a colpi di sferza (VII 223 cf. 56).

Questa diversità di regimi costituzionali si può inoltre ridurre ad un fatto essenziale, e cioè ad un differente rapporto con la legge (*nomos*): gli uni sono liberi in quanto obbediscono ad un unico padrone, la legge; gli altri sono schiavi in quanto al di sopra di loro c'è un tiranno capriccioso che fa e disfa la legge a suo piacimento. La superiorità dei Greci sui barbari si fonda quindi sul fatto che essi vivono in comunità cittadine (*poleis*) egualitarie rigidamente regolate dalla legge. A questa legge il cittadino deve obbedienza e la città pretende da ognuno dei suoi *politai* un impegno militante costante: e ciò perchè esiste una completa identificazione fra la legge e la città e fra la città e i suoi cittadini.[16] Alla definizione del *polites* greco è essenziale il fatto che egli sia libero (*eleutheros*) da ogni autorità tirannica che ne limiti l'autonomia: ma questa libertà non è possibile ove fra i cittadini non ci sia uguaglianza (*homoiotes*) — un'uguaglianza, si badi bene, che non riguarda la sfera economica ma esclusivamente quella politica. D'altra parte, senza libertà e uguaglianza non può esserci né giustizia (la tirannide, in quanto portatrice di disuguaglianza, è identificata con l'ingiustizia) né concordia (*homonoia*) fra i membri della *polis*.[17] L'etica aristocratica della libertà e della uguaglianza dei cittadini-soldati (l'unica ritenuta capace di assicurare la giustizia e la concordia all'interno della città) sta dunque alla base della nuova identità 'nazionale' (ma nazionale, come si è visto, vuol dire civica) che i Greci (e in particolare gli Ateniesi) si costruiscono nel V secolo in opposizione alla passività e alla paura tipiche dei sudditi del grande impero multinazionale persiano.[18]

Se nell'elaborazione di questa etica egualitaria ed anti-tirannica Sparta ha avuto storicamente la precedenza (già nel VI secolo emerge a Sparta la pretesa che i cittadini-opliti siano *homoioi*), è stata tuttavia Atene a portarla alle estreme conseguenze a partire dalle riforme isonomiche di Clistene del 508/7 a.C. che hanno aperto la strada alla successiva democrazia di Efialte e di Pericle. Da questo punto di vista risulta essenziale l'azione svolta ad Atene negli anni successivi alle guerre persiane da quella classe dirigente aristocratica e dallo stile di vita laconizzante, che non amava far sfoggio di ricchezze se non a beneficio della comunità cittadina e che aveva costumi sobri e frugali. L'identità civica ateniese si costruisce dunque attorno ad un'ideologia austera che fa perno sul cittadino-soldato, che ama la libertà e l'uguaglianza e considera i fenomeni di ostentazione della ricchezza individuale negativamente in quanto dissolutori della *politeia*. Un'ideologia che considera l'ostentazione della ricchezza e l'avidità di lucro come socialmente dannose dal momento che spezzano la coesione e la disciplina della *polis*. Si ritiene infatti che la ricchezza faccia perdere il controllo di sé, favorisca il sorgere di ambizioni e gelosie, generi lotte intestine.

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[16] Sulla cittadinanza come militanza e sullo stretto rapporto tra cittadino e legge cf. Veyne 1982, 883ss.

[17] Questi temi sono stati approfonditi da Meier 1980, in part. 293ss.

[18] Sul fatto che i Greci abbiano definito la loro identità 'nazionale' in relazione all'universalismo persiano cf. Momigliano 1984, 60ss.

E' in base a questi presupposti che si stabilisce una stretta correlazione fra aumento della ricchezza, diffusione e accrescimento del lusso e decadimento politico-militare di una città. Chi indossa abiti lussuosi, si unge il corpo di profumi, mangia cibi raffinati, pratica il commercio, è incapace di affrontare le fatiche della guerra.[19] E' quindi dal punto di vista di una siffatta ideologia che si rivolgono agli Ioni le accuse di lusso, mollezza, incapacità militare. In altre parole, gli Ioni sono criticati perché non sono stati in grado di crearsi una propria identità civica e sono rimasti una massa passiva, debole e divisa sottoposta a governi tirannici (e in questo senso vengono assimilati agli orientali).

Abbiamo visto come questi sentimenti anti-ionici si siano diffusi ad Atene nel periodo successivo alle guerre persiane. A questo proposito si rivela interessante quel che apprendiamo da Plutarco riguardo all'attività di Cimone all'interno della Lega delio-attica. Nella vita di Cimone leggiamo, infatti, che gli alleati di Atene, dal momento che i barbari non destavano più preoccupazione, non volevano più saperne di guerra preferendo dedicarsi all'agricoltura e alla vita tranquilla. L'uomo politico ateniese, anziché contrastarli, accettò che quanti fra essi non volevano far la guerra dessero in cambio contribuzioni in denaro e in navi senza equipaggio. In questo modo gli alleati cominciarono ad occuparsi esclusivamente dei propri affari divenendo, a causa della mollezza e dell'imprevidenza, da combattivi che erano lavoratori pacifici e affaristi imbelli (11,1-3) e quindi, senza accorgersene, tributari e schiavi degli Ateniesi. Nel passo si fa risalire a Cimone la responsabilità di aver incoraggiato la propensione degli Ioni alla *tryphé* al fine di favorire il dominio ateniese all'interno della Lega; in altre parole, si stabilisce una connessione tra il porsi di Atene come *polis tyrannos* all'interno della Lega e la progressiva perdita di valori virili (e quindi della libertà) da parte degli alleati ionici.

Il distacco degli Ateniesi dall'*ethnos* ionico avviene dunque parallelamente a quella trasformazione della Lega delio-attica in impero ateniese che crea un solco profondo fra la città dominatrice e i popoli soggetti. Dal momento poi che il passaggio dalla *symmachia* all'*arché* coincide con l'affermarsi ad Atene della democrazia, non è casuale che proprio un provvedimento legislativo di Pericle (e cioè l'emanazione della legge restrittiva sulla cittadinanza nel 451/0 a.C.) sancisca una sorta di chiusura della *polis* ateniese al mondo esterno (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26,3; Plut. *Per.* 37).

L'epoca di Pericle e quella successiva della democrazia radicale sono caratterizzate, come è noto, da un lato da una politica imperialistica nei confronti degli alleati, dall'altro da un atteggiamento distensivo e di accordo con l'impero persiano. Ma questo è anche il momento in cui la riflessione sull'identità civica raggiunge ad Atene il suo culmine. Questa riflessione sembra avere uno dei suoi punti centrali nella pretesa degli Ateniesi di essere un popolo *autochtonos*, vale a dire un popolo che 'aveva occupato da sempre la stessa terra' (Loraux 1981, 35ss.). Questa caratteristica li distingueva, innanzi tutto, da quei popoli che, come i Dori, nella loro storia avevano compiuto varie migrazioni: e in ciò era implicito un forte elemento polemico nei confronti degli Spartani che a quest'epoca erano diventati i principali nemici degli Ateniesi.[20] Ma essere autoctoni significa anche distinguersi dai popoli etnicamente misti: e fra questi popoli c'erano certamente, come testimonia Erodoto, gli Ioni, un *ethnos* da cui gli Ateniesi volevano prendere le distanze.

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[19] Non è ovviamente possibile dare un quadro complessivo di questa ideologia in tutte le sue concrete articolazioni storiche. Sulla questione si vedano Veyne 1982, 896ss.; Nenci 1983, 1025.

Le virtù che nella riflessione ateniese sono considerate tipiche dei popoli autoctoni si pongono in netta antitesi agli aspetti negativi del carattere ionico. In particolare, mentre i popoli autoctoni dimostrano attaccamento al suolo della patria in cui vivono da tempo immemorabile e sono pronti a difenderlo con le armi, nei popoli misti prevale uno spirito di fazione che li rende estremamente deboli e disposti ad accettare la tirannide.[21] Alla autoctonia si associa quindi lo spirito di resistenza allo straniero e la capacità di mantenersi liberi ed eguali (due caratteristiche che, come si è visto, costituiscono le fondamenta della identità civica greca ed ateniese in particolare). Nel *Menesseno* troviamo infatti espressa l'idea che si deve all'autoctonia il fatto che gli Ateniesi hanno ritenuto «loro dovere combattere per la libertà anche contro Greci in difesa di Greci e contro barbari in difesa di tutti i Greci» (369 a-b). Richiamarsi ad essa significa dunque per i cittadini ateniesi tanto la riaffermazione di un ideale democratico-egualitario all'interno della *polis* quanto il distinguersi dall'*ethnos* ionico, ormai universalmente considerato nel mondo greco come debole ed imbelle alla stregua dei barbari (Alty 1982, 7ss.).

E' vero che nell'Atene periclea, allorché diventa più forte la contrapposizione a Sparta e ai suoi valori, circa il rapporto fra individuo e comunità si sviluppano nuove riflessioni che mettono, in qualche modo, in discussione quello stile di vita austero su cui si fonda l'identità greca. Nel discorso pronunciato da Pericle in onore dei primi caduti nella guerra del Peloponneso (e che è tutto centrato sull'opposizione fra Sparta e Atene) si sostiene che ad Atene è lecito possedere splendidi arredi privati e coltivarsi nel corpo e nello spirito, vale a dire badare di più al proprio benessere individuale. L'uomo politico aggiunge, inoltre, che è preferibile un modo di vivere più rilassato alla rigida educazione militare spartana e che bisogna darsi da fare operando per sfuggire alla povertà (Thuc. II 37,1ss.).

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[20] Già all'epoca delle guerre persiane gli Ateniesi si ritenevano superiori sia perché erano il popolo più antico sia perché, soli fra i Greci, non avevano mai cambiato paese (Hdt. VII 161,3). Sul fatto che i Dori avessero molto vagato prima di raggiungere le loro sedi cf. Hdt. I 156,3.

[21] Sulla mancanza di coesione e solidarietà civica e sul prevalere dello spirito di fazione nelle città miste si vedano le fonti raccolte e discusse da Rosivach 1987, 302-3.

A farsi largo ad Atene è dunque un etica attivistica che, come ha osservato Musti (1985), pone l'accento sul benessere e sull'autonomia dell'individuo, sulla possibilità che ha il privato di esprimersi e di differenziarsi rispetto al pubblico. In questo senso (in una nuova impostazione, cioè, del rapporto fra privato e pubblico), l'Atene che si riconosce nel discorso di Pericle sembra allontanarsi dal rigido modello ideologico del cittadino-soldato. Ma il nuovo individualismo nato all'interno della città democratica si presenta con un volto ambiguo, porta in sé i germi della *tryphé* e della decadenza. Chi come Alcibiade incarna queste spinte individualistiche appare come una figura contraddittoria e pericolosa. Se, da un lato, la sua attività politica e la sua abilità oratoria suscitano fra gli Ateniesi grandi entusiasmi, dall'altro il suo comportamento fa anche pensare che egli disprezzi le leggi della città e che aspiri alla tirannide. E certamente indizio di mentalità tirannica sono ritenuti dai suoi contemporanei i tratti salienti della sua personalità: il lusso nel vestire, gli eccessi nel mangiare e nel bere, una sessualità disinibita, nonchè l'ambizione sfrenata cui vengono sacrificati i superiori interessi della *polis*.[22]

Ancora una volta dunque, i comportamenti al di fuori della norma sono giudicati indizio di una tendenza al rivolgimento delle istituzioni cittadine, alla rottura della coesione civica. L'ideologia della *polis* resta al fondo la stessa: chi indossa abiti lussuosi o si dà alle gozzoviglie, chi pensa troppo al proprio arricchimento personale o ad attività lucrative, chi evita gli sforzi e le fatiche che impone la disciplina militare, mette in discussione la libertà e l'uguaglianza dei cittadini. Ai *politai* si addicono uno stile di vita austero e un impegno militante continuo, in caso contrario nella città prevalgono la mollezza e il corrompimento dei costumi che portano inevitabilmente alla decadenza. La condizione di *tryphé* all'opposto è quella in cui vivono le masse passive e schiavizzate dei regni d'Oriente, alle quali vengono accomunati i Greci d'Asia. Ad esse manca infatti l'unico elemento capace di rafforzare la *politeia* e di impedirne la dissoluzione: l'identità cittadina. Sta in questa ideologia la chiave per intendere il perchè i Greci abbiano visto la storia dell'Oriente e degli Ioni essenzialmente come una storia di lusso e decadenza.[23]

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[22] Per comprendere la personalità di Alcibiade è essenziale quel che leggiamo nella vita di Plutarco (ad es. 6,1-2; 13,2; 16,1 ss.), la quale è basata sulle opere di Tucidide, Eforo e Teopompo e riporta anche giudizi di contemporanei sull'uomo politico ateniese. Tucidide (VI 15,2-4) testimonia in particolare che le sue straordinarie ambizioni e gli eccessi nel tenore di vita inducevano nei cittadini il sospetto che Alcibiade aspirasse alla tirannide. Sugli stretti legami fra sviluppo della democrazia ateniese e nascità di forme di protagonismo cf. Musti 1987, 9ss.

[23] Quanto questa ideologia abbia pesato nel modo in cui le fonti greche hanno narrato la storia dell'Oriente e, più specificamente, della Persia, ha mostrato Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987, 117ss.

THE EAST GREEKS UNDER PERSIAN RULE: A REASSESSMENT

Jack Martin Balcer — Columbus (Ohio)

The cultural histories of the east Greeks, written by modern classicists, have inevitably recounted the highly expressive achievements of the pre-Persian period as distinctly creative, innovative, and revolutionary (Huxley 1966; Emlyn-Jones 1980). Then, with Cyrus' conquest of eastern Greece, of greater Ionia c.545 B.C., the scholars note a marked decline in ceramics, sculpture, and architecture; and by the end of the sixth century the absence of literature (Murray 1980, 234).[1] Finally, following the fierce and bloody Ionian revolt against Persia, 499-494 B.C., the classicists then write of a 'cultural wasteland' that lasted well into the last decades of the fifth century B.C., some one hundred and thirty years after Cyrus (Cook 1961). That staid view requires reassessment.

This revision of the cultural life of the eastern Greek societies rests upon the premise that one cannot understand the ancient Greeks without understanding the ancient Achaemenid empire, a view not often espoused by hellenists. An intricate and sophisticated economic system in each of the east Greek states certainly had supported the distinctly creative Ionian arts and letters that did decline by c.500 B.C.; nevertheless, in many instances the monetary and financial traits of that economic system can still be detected well through the period of Persian occupation, until 479 B.C., no less into the initial period of Athenian domination. That evidence will show that the cultural decline among the Ionians came not from an economic depression from Persian taxation and military assessments but rather from political repression. The economic life of many of the east Greek states remained healthy and often prospered.

The early decades of Ionia were inherently rich and exceedingly productive. In the Archaic Age to c.545 B.C., and the eve of Cyrus' conquest, we look to the Ionians for invention and a creative spirit for pre-Socratic philosophy, lyric poetry, and distinctive artistic innovations. In the late Archaic Age, it was the Ionians who reflected a far more vibrant 'necessity for life' and the desire for the necessary luxuries for that life than did the mainland Greeks, even more than the developing peoples of Athens, Sparta, Aegina, and in particular Corinth. The east Greeks, and especially the Ionians, retained well the soul of archaic Greece that passed with the Persian wars of Darius and Xerxes in Greece to the Athenians of the 'Golden Age.'

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[1] Murray notes: "The opportunities offered by the Persian empire had little economic relevance to the Ionian cities."

The east Greeks in the fifth century had declined in their cultural development with an absence of those cultural markers of philosophy, poetry, and art; yet certain basic monetary and financial traits indicate that Ionia under Persian political control flourished economically and significantly much more than has heretofore been noted. Those economic developments among the east Greeks suggest four significant observations: one, several important east Greek states during the late sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries B.C., maintained high levels of economic prosperity; two, the Achaemenid empire had not destroyed that economic development, except at Miletus; three, at Teos the financial and monetary economic traits indicate a substantial development throughout the period of Achaemenid control; and four, while the Achaemenid imperial policies did inflict political blows on the east Greeks, the subsequent Athenian imperial policies imposed were more debilitating (Balcer 1984, 389-410). The two aspects of that continued economic well-being which will be examined — the numismatic evidence and the records of eastern Greek monetary tribute to Athens, the *Athenian Tribute Lists* — provide us with the ancient evidence for this reassessment. This numismatic study will provide us with a more accurate indicator of prosperity in Ionia under Achaemenid rule than the simple counting of prominent monuments.

Of all the Greeks, the Ionians knew of coins and minting best. The Lydians had invented coinage in Sardis and c.620 B.C., began to mint their native electrum as staters or double drachma pieces (Gerloff 1940; Jenkins 1972, 27-8; Kraay 1976, 20-30). The eastern Greeks gradually adopted the new fiscal measures, although slowly at first, and transformed the use of coins from the payment for foreign mercenaries, east Greeks and their southern Carian neighbors in particular, to mercantile and common commercial use (Cook 1958; Kraay 1964; Wallace 1987). That important transformation necessitated first the striking of electrum denominations significantly smaller than staters, down to a ninety-sixth for the exchange in the eastern markets; and second, by the mid-sixth century B.C., the minting of silver, a metal of lesser value than electrum. Those changes had been stimulated by Croesus' development of the Lydian bimetallic monetary system c.560-c.545 B.C., of gold and silver coins (Hdt. I 94; Jenkins 1972, 38-41; Kraay 1976, 15, 29-31). Early Lydian and east Greek electrum staters had equalled, apparently, a mercenary's periodic wage, worth ten times their weight in silver. Thus, an electrum ninety-sixth was equivalent to less than half a silver drachma, and was, also, too large for the purpose of general market exchange. Smaller denominations in silver were still needed. While some east Greek states, notably Phocaea, retained electrum yet struck small silver and exchangable denominations, other states, such as Teos, developed elaborate silver coinage systems. Those systems indicate few significant changes during the early years of Achaemenid rule. They remained essentially intact. As significant markers of the minor arts, the coins themselves are objects of cultural developments and change, indicators of the Ionian material civilization during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. We must be aware, however, that chronological precision for sixth century B.C. numismatics is lacking (Kraay 1976, xx-xxi). We must, therefore, modify our historical observations accordingly.

Following Cyrus' conquest of Lydia and the coastal Greek states, the Achaemenid government at Sardis simply adopted the Lydian monetary system, and for more than twenty-five years continued to issue Croesus' coin types, although only in denominations of the gold stater and the silver half-stater or drachma (Carradice 1987). The Persians previously had had no close experience with coinage, and the often implemented Achaemenid policy of adopting local institutions bears witness to the continuity, with slight modification, of the Lydian coinage. This Persian fostering of Ionian mints was not a political policy of sovereignty and vassalage or of abstract theory but was dictated by fundamental, practical necessities and possibilities, the need of Greek *poleis* for coins and the reality of their local mints (Martin 1985). In similar manner, following the period of extensive national revolutions, Darius replaced the Lydian system with the first Persian gold darics and silver sigloi or shekels on the same Lydian or the Milesian weight standard, as part of his extensive administrative and financial reorganization of his empire. Darius' royal and heroic crowned figure bearing a drawn bow had replaced Croesus' lion-bull types. While the darics circulated throughout the satrapies, the sigloi were exchanged only in Sparda, among the Lydians and the east Greeks for whom the sigloi played a significant economic role (Schlumberger 1953).

The Persian conquest of the east Greeks, as with the earlier conquest by Croesus' Lydian forces, appears not to have affected initially economic prosperity. At Teos, c.540-530 B.C., an important mint opened and began to strike a series of silver staters, soon followed by smaller denominations, not in accord with the prevailing Milesian weight standard common to the Lydians, but minted according to the Aeginetan silver standard that prevailed over much of the southern Aegean trade from the Saronic Gulf south-east across the Cyclades to Knidos and Rhodes (Balcer 1968). Thus, through the developed double harbors at Teos on the southern shore of the Erythraean peninsula of central Ionia, the Teians brought to their city the trade of the Aegean islands and the great emporium on the western island of Aegina. This clearly affected the other markets of Persia's satrapy of Sparda, and linked that trade with the inland routes and markets across Persian Asia Minor and beyond into Mesopotamia and Iran. Local electrum, native to both Lydia and to some of the east Greek states, was then supplemented with foreign silver, either from the mines on Siphnus or in east Attica, or from other foreign sources such as the Thraco-Macedonian region.

Such trade connections with the islands may also be noted in the development of Samos under the tyranny of Polycrates, 533-c.521 B.C., of an extensive series of silver drachmae and fractions struck in accordance with the Milesian standard, which strongly suggests an economic tie to Persian Sparda. Even with the violent overthrow of Polycrates and the subsequent Persian occupation of that island during Darius' reestablishment of control of rebellious Sparda (Balcer 1987, 146-9), a period of internal turmoil and general economic depression, the mint continued striking coins, yet introduced its own national Samian standard used throughout most of the fifth century B.C. (Barron 1966). As with the mint at Teos, the Samians also had to obtain their silver from other Greek markets abroad in exchange for local and imported goods.

At Miletus, large denominations of silver coins were not minted but rather a prolific series of silver obols, twelfths of a stater, on the Milesian standard, and their fractions (Cahn 1970, 122). In that city with four great harbors serving first the Lydians and now the Persians as a major trading center for the vast network of Aegean, Pontic, and Phoenician maritime commerce, the absence of larger denominations is most curious. Whereas Miletus also controlled the oracular shrine to Apollo at Didyma, open to Greek and Anatolian pilgrims from afar, the absence of national denominations larger than obols remains perplexing. Farther south, Dorian Knidos also began issuing a few small silver denominations on the Milesian standard, c.530 B.C.; then, following Darius' reestablishment of control of western Asia Minor in 521/20 B.C., it switched to the commercial Aeginetan standard of the southern Aegean and Rhodes, discontinued the minting of fractions yet issued drachmae to facilitate the exchange of the more prominent staters or double drachmae from other *poleis* (Kraay 1976, 38-9). At Colophon, the mint struck silver drachmae in weight equal to the Persian sigloi and small denominations of tetrobols and obol fractions (Milne 1941). Farthest inland of all the Ionian states, Colophon retained strong ties with Persian Sardis and the Spardian trading system. Coastal Erythrae also struck several denominations, many in accord with the weight of the Persian sigloi and the Colophonian drachmae (Head 1911, 578; Babelon 1910, 303; *BMC Ionia* 1892, 116-9; Gardner 1918, 167-8) Among the islands, Chios minted silver drachmae, beginning in the mid-sixth century (Barron 1966, 49-67; Kraay 1976, 37, 240-1); and on Lesbos, at Methymna, the mint produced staters struck in base silver (Kraay 1976, 38-9, 266). From the northern east Greek states, scattered silver coinage also occurred during the period of Persian occupation, but less well-defined and often unattributable to specific mints. And at Ephesus, with its important shrine to Artemis and her native Anatolian cult, occasional small silver coins were issued on the Milesian standard (Head 1880).

At commercially rich Phocaea, the mint produced an extensive series of electrum 'sixths' and fractions. Beginning in the late seventh century B.C., the Phocaean 'sixths' actively and successfully competed with Milesian, Samian, Chian, and Lydian electrum to the south; and Lampsacene and Cyzicene electrum to the north. The Phocaean mint, producing during the early sixth century Phocaean mercantile expansion throughout the western Mediterranean to Iberia, collapsed, however, in 545 B.C., when Cyrus seized the city and its inhabitants fled to Velia in southern Italy (Schulten 1933, 519-22; Arribas 1964, 92). Within a few years, many Phocaeans resettled the magnificent harbor town, attempted to revive the nation's trade, and reopened the mint to produce both electrum and silver. The heraldic seal types of the early sixth century had given way after Cyrus' occupation to various animal types often accompanied by the seal, and by c.520 B.C., the mint instituted the superb series of archaic heads of deities, which continued through the Persian period. Struck on the national Phocaean standard to comply with the rare staters, the 'sixths' adhered closely to their own national weight standard acceptable in many western ports because they were of the coveted electrum (Meister 1890, 610-1).[2] By the end of the century, however, Phocaea discontinued the sparse series of silver drachmae and fractions struck on the familiar Milesian standard, and thereafter produced only electrum 'sixths.' The lack of arable land and constant international conflict prevented Phocaea from regaining her role upon the seas.

Sparda's revolt against Darius' upon his accession to the Achaemenid throne in 522 B.C., apparently was centered mainly in the satrapal palace at Sardis and not widespread among the Greek *poleis* of that satrapy; consequently, we can note positive economic and monetary changes rather than destructive Persian measures during the second half of the sixth century B.C.

Throughout the territory of the east Greeks, the Persian conquest stimulated the development of significant mints, the striking of electrum and silver coins to foster an extensive network of trade with the mainland of Asia Minor and the Cycladic islands as far west as Aegina and beyond, especially through Phocaea's western colonies. Caria, Lycia, and Rhodes, tied commercially with Cyprus and the Phoenician mercantile cities, had also become intricately enmeshed within that new monetary and commercial sphere. Neither Cyrus' conquest nor Sparda's revolt against Darius' usurpation of the Achaemenid crown but rather the failure of the Ionian revolt against Darius in 498 B.C., constituted the major turning-point in the economic development of the Ionians and other eastern Greeks.

With that revolt erupting in Miletus at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the major Ionian states contributed to the minting of fine electrum staters. The uniformity of their fabric and style suggests all were minted at the same place, and probably at Miletus (Kraay 1976, 30). To the common crisis, the economically wealthy east Greek states contributed bullion: Chios, Samos, Abydos, Lampsacus, Dardanus, Cymae, Clazomenae, Priene, and two other unidentified states, with each stater bearing its traditional national monetary badge. Persia's three pronged military attack from the east and a naval expedition against Miletus quelled the revolt; and then turned upon that rebellious state with extensive physical destruction. The Persians burned much of Miletus, destroyed the temple at Didyma, and exiled many of the Milesians to Mesopotamia (Hdt. VI 18-25; Paus. I 16,3; Balcer 1984, 244-9).

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[2] Meister incorrectly attributed the stater to Teos.

With the fall of Ionia, the east Greeks returned to Persian control, and with the exception of Miletus, Samos and Chios, the striking of electrum and silver coins at the established mints continued. Unfortunately, the lack of adequately recorded coin hoards for this period compounds our inability to trace precisely the effects of the Ionian revolt upon the economies of the eastern Greeks during and after the Persian expeditions against Athens (Kraay 1976, 239-40). Following the Greek victories over Xerxes' land forces at Plataea and naval forces at Mycale in 479 B.C., the coastal zone of Sparda, the east Greek states from the northern Troad to southern Caria, separated from the Achaemenid empire. Unfortunately, our ancient sources fail to inform us as to what happened during this important transitional period. In the early spring of 478 B.C., the Greek fleet completed a lightning raid upon Persian controlled Cyprus and then sailed back into the Aegean and along the Anatolian coast to the Persian fort at Byzantium on the Bosporus (Thuc. I 94). Yet there remains no report of a Greek attack upon the Persian strongholds along the coast of Sparda, and especially among the east Greek states. Nor is there a report of military naval manoeuvres along the Ionian coast by the subsequently established Delian confederacy (Thuc. I 98; Steinbrecher 1985). The suggestion that Xerxes had conceded his sovereignty over those east Greek states and had withdrawn his Persian garrisons from that coastal zone in order to concentrate his imperial control in the empire's troublesome eastern regions, therefore, has merit (Cawkwell 1968).

Throughout the Aegean islands, coastal Thrace and Ionia, the Athenian commanded Delian confederacy rapidly gained allied states that had previously been governed by Persia, and throughout those regions mints closed as states adopted the Athenian silver tetradrachmae. The states, however, had not willingly or eagerly adopted the Athenian currency but rather from the beginning of the confederacy, it appears, the Athenians curtailed the mints of their allies and imposed their own standards of weights and measures.

Teos, however, doggedly maintained her mint, despite having been harassed with internal discord, piracy, and grain shortages, c.470 B.C. (Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 30); and continued to strike her Aeginetan weight staters and a number of smaller denominations from the drachmae to the common trihemiobols and quarter-obols. It is uncertain whether a brief hiatus had occurred in minting at the time of Teos' shift from the Achaemenid empire to the Delian confederacy; if it did it is impossible to detect from the numismatic evidence. Yet, with the promulgation by the Athenian council and assembly of the Currency Decree in 449 B.C., that demanded all allied mints in the Delian confederacy striking silver be closed, Teos was forced to comply. Only states minting electrum, not native to Attica, were exempt (Erxleben 1969, 1970, 1971; Meritt 1975; Martin 1985, 196-207; Lewis 1987).

Colophon had also minted silver drachmae in weight equal to the Persian sigloi and small denominations of tetrobols and obol fractions (Milne 1941). Farthest inland of all the Ionian states, Colophon retained its ties with Persian Sardis and the Spardian (or Lydian) trading system, and not being easily accessible to the Athenian war ships apparently ignored the demands of the Athenian Currency Decree. That seemingly prompted the Athenians to dispatch colonists in 447/6 B.C. (IG 1^3. 37), to control the rebellious ally, and the Colophonian mint closed. By 429 B.C., however, some of the inhabitants succeeded in returning Persian control to the state (Thuc. III 34,1), and the mint resumed occasional striking of its silver drachmae still equal to the Persian sigloi.

Elsewhere in Ionia, Ephesus continued to mint, although sporadically (Head 1880); and Erythrae struck several denominations, many in accord with the weight of the Persian sigloi and the Colophonian drachmae (Head 1911, 578; Babelon 1910, 303; *BMC Ionia* 1892, 116-9; Gardner 1918, 167-8). The Samian tetradrachmae prevalent before and during the Ionian Revolt had ceased with the collapse of that rebellion for more than a decade. Yet with the Persian military disasters at Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale, the Samians resumed their coinage (Barron 1966, 49-67; Kraay 1976, 37, 240-1). Like Samos, Chios also minted silver coins, in this case didrachmae, from the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century B.C., with a significant interval as a result of the Ionian revolt (Kraay 1976, 32, 242-3). And on Lesbos, at Methymna, the staters struck in base silver on a local standard continued, yet unlike the other island mints c.485 B.C., shortly after the Ionian revolt, the mint at Mytilene began to issue electrum coins (Kraay 1976, 38-9, 266). At Persian controlled Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, locally governed by the Athenian renegade Themistocles, silver didrachmae were struck c.464 and c.450 B.C., in accord with the Athenian weight standard rather than the prevalent eastern standards (Weil 1906; Kraay 1976, 244). And southern Knidos continued sporadically to strike Aeginetan weight drachmae, and a few obols (Kraay 1962/3).

The coins of the east Greeks were continuations of early issues struck during the Persian occupation, and only with slight modification did the new obverse types differ from those of the earlier period. The essential obverse and reverse types, metal fabric, and weight standards continued. Yet with the Currency Decree c.449 B.C., legislated by the Athenians to establish a single coherent monetary system, the old systems established during Persian rule ended abruptly. When coinage did resume either late in the fifth or early in the fourth century B.C., those archaic monetary traditions were abandoned. The Athenian empire, formed out of the Delian confederacy, therefore, had summarily closed the mints that the Persian empire had fostered. Only Phocaea, striking on its own standard, continued to mint 'sixths' of a stater in the electrum not controlled by the Currency Decree. By the spring of 453 B.C., the Delian confederacy encompassed at least 212 states, including Athens, and the eastern islands of Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, each of which contributed manned ships in lieu of a monetary tribute to the emerging Athenian imperial structure (Meritt *et al.* 1939, 1949, 1950) Of the remaining 208 states, at least 170 or 82% paid to the confederate treasury in Athens five talents (30,000 Athenian drachmae) or less. Nevertheless, five eastern Greek states paid more than six talents: Cymae in southern Aeolis paid 12 talents; and in Ionia, Miletus paid 10, Ephesus 7½, Erythrae 7, and Teos 6. Such payments suggest several things. That Miletus had recovered from the Persian destruction of 494 B.C., and although its trade seems to have been greatly curtailed, Miletus served as a major religious centre that apparently revived and flourished during the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. (Kleiner 1966, 1968; Voigtländer 1972). Erythrae, Cymae, and Teos, may well have gained in trade from that lost by Miletus. Ephesus also continued as a major religious shrine. If Phocaea, rich in electrum 'sixths,' paid only 3 talents to the confederacy, then payments between 6 and 10 talents do suggest that the five states noted remained large in size, had become large in population, and perhaps each engaged in something more than just agriculture. In addition to the two shrines noted, each may have supported crafts and/or trade to have allowed the Athenian officials of the confederate treasury to assess the sums noted. These activities could suggest the healthy economic bases, and thus the rather high levels of tribute consequently assessed by the Delian confederacy (Balcer 1988).

While the records of the east Greek tribute paid to Athens, date from the years 453 B.C. and after, the amounts paid to Athens were not dissimilar to the amounts of tribute submitted by those same states to the Achaemenid empire. Artaphrenes, the satrap of Sparda, had assessed the Ionian states following the Ionian revolt, 493 B.C., tribute based upon agricultural productivity, according to a rate of assessment that Herodotus noted was still maintained in the mid-century, thus by the Delian confederacy (Hdt. VI 42,2). The significant economic traits of the tributary or financial measures and the monetary structures of Cymae, Phocaea, Erythrae, Ephesus, Miletus, and especially Teos, noted in the mid-fifth century B.C., can also be detected earlier in the years following the Ionian revolt; and the monetary structures of those same states can be detected still earlier, often in the last decade or two of Cyrus' reign.

When the Ionian poet Xenophanes of Colophon asked "How old were you when the Mede came?" (Xenophanes F22 = Edmonds 1931), and fled Ionia at the age of twenty-five to live an exile's life in Sicily to the full age of ninety-one (Xenophanes F7; Lucian *Macr.*), it was not Persian economic oppression that caused the Ionian poets, artisans and craftsmen to flee or cease their activities, but rather the loss of Greek political 'freedom' to what the Greeks believed to be Persian despotism and subjugation (Hdt. I 169,2; 170,2; II 1,2). That political repression, as the east Greeks claimed, was followed by the Persian appointment of governors to rule the states, governors whom the Greeks called tyrants as they could not be removed except by rebellion, and that inevitably proved impossible. The new Achaemenid political climate, therefore, inhibited and then stifled Ionian cultural innovation and creativity; yet the continuing monetary and financial traits indicate that Ionia under Persian rule still flourished economically. Achaemenid policy was not directed toward the destruction of the cultural arts, but rather the personal Ionian desires not to be under Persian control prompted many to leave and go into voluntary exile. And Herodotus strongly suggests that the loss of political freedom had begun earlier than Cyrus' conquest, more precisely following Croesus' conquest of Ionia (Hdt. I 6,2). Cyrus, therefore, may have only accelerated a cultural decline begun by Croesus.

The monetary and financial traits of the east Greek economic systems detectable in the mid-sixth century B.C., prospered during the Achaemenid subjugations by Cyrus c.545 B.C, and Darius c.521 B.C. Not Achaemenid governmental rule but rather the Ionian revolt disrupted some of those traits, yet many survived. Even Miletus, destroyed by the Persians in 494 B.C., revived significantly by the mid-fifth century B.C. At Teos, the monetary and tributary traits indicate not only a high degree of economic prosperity but little or no disruption by the revolt of that prosperity. And Colophon maintained a predominant pro-Persian profile throughout the fifth century B.C. Achaemenid policy toward conquered lands had not been to disrupt the economic stability and productivity as that was counterproductive to the collection of tribute for the empire's political and military well-being, yet political rebellion was another matter.

In Ionia, the Persians had allowed if not fostered the development of monetary systems conducive to an increase of trade and economic prosperity. The Athenians, in contrast, had first coerced the Ionians to close their mints, and then given the force of law to the imperial demand for their closing. In this rests the irony. What the Persians had fostered, the Athenians extinguished.

DE SARDES A SUSE

Pierre Briant — Toulouse

1 *Routes et communications dans l'empire achéménide: quelques problèmes.*

En dépit de la 'thalassophobie' présumée des empires de l'Orient ancien (Revere 1975), les échanges entre les rives orientales de la Méditerranée et les pays mésopotamiens ont toujours été actifs, notamment aux époques néo-assyrienne et néo-babylonienne. Mais, au-delà des continuités remarquées (*RTP*, 325-326), il apparaît en même temps que la création de l'empire achéménide a posé en des termes nouveaux le problème des rapports entre les pays côtiers et ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler l'arrière-pays. Le nouvel empire disposait en effet d'un très long front maritime, de la Mer Noire au delta du Nil — sans parler de son ouverture maritime sur le Golfe Persique — front maritime qui fournissait une part importante des tributs royaux,[1] et dont il importait d'assurer la défense. Aux yeux de Mazzarino (1966), l'un des grands problèmes posés aux dirigeants perses était précisément de concilier les exigences des comptoirs commerciaux grecs et la caractéristique continentale de l'empire achéménide. Pour la première fois, les maîtres de l'empire se créaient une marine puissante et se lançaient à la conquête des îles de l'Egée. Le recul postérieur aux défaites de 479 et à l'offensive athénienne ne modifièrent pas fondamentalement la nécessité de l'accès aux côtes. Dans le même temps, l'archéologie rend compte de l'intensité des échanges entre les pays grecs et les régions du Proche-Orient tenus par les Perses: on sait bien maintenant que la conquête perse n'a pas entraîné une raréfaction des échanges, bien au contraire (e. g. Collombier 1987).

Tel qu'il est présenté fréquemment par les auteurs grecs, le problème se posait d'abord en des termes politiques et stratégiques. A l'instar des grands rois dans leurs inscriptions, les Grecs de l'époque classique insistent sur l'étendue considérable de l'empire perse (Xénophon *Anab.* I 7, 6-7; [Aristote], *De Mundo* 398a), et ils soulignent en même temps les handicaps militaires et logistiques qu'une telle immensité impose au contrôle territorial (Xénophon *Anab.* I 5, 9-10; D. S. XIV 22).[2] Au dire de Xénophon (*Cyr.* VIII 6, 17-18), c'est d'ailleurs en vue de «remédier à l'immensité de son empire» que Cyrus prit les dispositions que l'on sait pour créer une poste rapide et sûre. Bien entendu, le problème du contrôle territorial ne se limite pas à l'existence des routes ou, plus largement, d'un système efficace de communications: l'emprise territorial des Perses ne se limite pas au tracé des grandes routes (cf. Briant 1987, 6-9). Il n'en reste pas moins que, pour un empire construit par la conquête militaire et menacé par des sécessions, il s'agit là d'un problème important voire essentiel dans les périodes de troubles en particulier. Il est clair par exemple que le transfert de troupes d'une région à l'autre (par exemple à l'intérieur de l'Asie Mineure)[3] implique l'existence et l'entretien non seulement des routes proprement dites mais encore des capacités logistiques (stocks de vivres, dépôts d'eau, réserves d'armes ... (Briant 1984b, 67; 1986a).

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[1] D.S XV 90,4 écrit que, du fait de la révolte des satrapes et des peuples d'Asie Mineure et du front méditerranéen (v. 362/1), "le roi perdit la moitié de ses revenus". Le texte doit sans doute être compris à la lumière de ce qu'écrit Strabon XV 3,21.

[2] D.S. XVI 44,46 précise que les Sidoniens et les Egyptiens ont su profiter du retard perse. Mais, l'insistance des auteurs classiques n'est pas toujours exempte de complaisance. Si, par exemple, Isocrate (*Panég.* 164-165) mentionne ce handicap, c'est d'abord pour en tirer argument sur la 'faiblesse' du grand roi. De toute façon, la lenteur des préparatifs perses n'est pas due simplement

Bien que le problème des routes soit posé à l'échelle de l'empire, il ne paraît pas inutile de l'envisager en même temps au niveau d'une vaste région, telle que l'Asie Mineure (et ses abords). L'une des justifications d'une telle démarche est que la majorité des sources classiques traitant de ce problème se réfèrent à l'Asie Mineure: il paraît donc intéressant de voir quels renseignements spécifiques ou quelles confirmations générales apportent les sources classiques sur les itinéraires et sur l'organisation du système routier. Par ailleurs, le cas de l'Asie Mineure permet d'aborder un autre aspect souvent sous-évalué: celui du rôle des communications fluviales et maritimes en liaison avec les communications terrestres.

2 *Routes et itinéraires d'Asie Mineure: l'apport des sources classiques.*

1. 1. Chacun connaît le célèbre passage d'Hérodote décrivant la route royale qui, à partir d'Ephèse et de Sardes, permet d'atteindre Suse en trois mois de marche (V 52-54), ou encore les remarques que consacre Xénophon (*Cyr.* VIII 6, 17-18) à l'institution de la poste aux chevaux. L'intérêt de ces textes n'est pas niable. D'une manière générale, les textes classiques (en particulier l'*Anabase* de Xénophon: cf. Cousin 1904; Manfredi 1986) et les textes hellénistiques (trajets de l'armée d'Alexandre: cf. Engels 1978; Seibert 1985) ont permis de reconstituer les principaux itinéraires qui reliaient l'Asie Mineure occidentale au coeur de l'empire: qu'il s'agisse de ce qu'Hérodote appelle la Route Royale (Ephèse-Sardes-Kelainai-Gordion-Pteria-hautes vallées de l'Euphrate et du Tigre-Susiane) ou de l'autre route qui, à partir de Kelainai, rejoignait directement la Syrie par la Lycaonie, les Portes de Cilicie

à "la distance des lieux" (D.S. XIV 22; cf.Q.C. III 2,9); elle est liée également à l'obligation faite aux généraux d'en référer au pouvoir central (D.S. XV 41,2,5).

[3] Cf. également PFT 1367 (déplacement d'une troupe de 472 cavaliers), et 200 (réserves de grains pour l'armée).

et Tarse.[4] Mais, la description d'Hérodote présente le défaut de donner un éclairage typiquement hellénocentrique,[5] l'horizon géographique d'Hérodote et de ses contemporains se bornant à Babylone et à Suse (Briant 1984b, 64-66).[6]

C'est une tout autre image que donnait Ctésias dans un ouvrage, malheureusement perdu, dans lequel «il faisait le compte des relais (*stathmoi*), journées (*hemerai*) et parasanges entre Ephèse et Bactres et l'Inde» (Ctésias, *Persika* 64). La publication des 'travel texts' de Persépolis, ainsi qu'une lettre araméenne d'Egypte (Grelot 1972, n°67), démontre effectivement, s'il en était besoin, que le système de communications terrestres englobait tous les pays de l'Egée à l'Indus.[7] On y recense effectivement quatre voyages entre Sardes et Suse (ou Persépolis) (PFT 1321, 1404; Q.901 et 1809: Lewis 1980). Mais bien d'autres régions de l'empire sont citées: Bactres (PFT 1287, 1555), Kerman (1289, 1330, 1332, 1348, 1377, 1398-99, 1436, 1439, 1466; PFa35), l'Inde (PFT 1318, 1383, 1399, 1524, 1552, 1556, 1572: cf. Bivar 1988, 205-208), l'Arachosie (1351, 1385, 1443, 1477, 1484, 1510, 2049) ou Kandahar (1358, 1340, 1550), l'Arie (1361, 1438, 1540, 2056), la Sagartie (1501; PFa 31), la Babylonie (PFT 1512, 1541(?)), la Médie (PFa 31), l'Egypte (PFT 1544 et Grelot 1972, n°67) — pour ne pas parler de Suse ou de Persépolis. Il n'y a d'ailleurs aucune conclusion statistique à tirer du petit nombre de références aux régions occidentales par rapport au nombre beaucoup plus élevé d'occurrences des pays du plateau iranien et d'Asie Centrale. Cette inégalité provient à la fois des modes d'archivage (cf. Koch 1986, 135) et du hasard des découvertes, sans parler de l'existence de trop nombreuses tablettes encore non publiées: en témoigne bien la tablette publiée par Lewis en 1980: si le voyage de Datis de Sardes vers Persépolis est documenté, c'est que le chef de la station d'Hidali (aux portes de la Perse en venant de Suse: Koch 1986, 142-143) a enregistré le montant des 'rations de voyage' qui ont été versées à Datis. Les chefs des autres stations de Sardes à Suse en avaient fait de même (cf. pour parallèle Grelot 1972, n°67), mais leurs enregistrements n'ont pas été retrouvés.[8] Toujours est-il que les 'travel texts' permettent de se rendre compte que la Voie Royale d'Hérodote n'est qu'une voie royale parmi d'autres (cf. D.S. XIX 19,2; Q.C. V 8,5: Briant 1984b, 67).[9]

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[4] Le tracé des grands itinéraires en Asie Mineure a donné lieu à de nombreuses controverses et donc à une très abondante bibliographie: cf.Briant 1973, 49-53; Wiesehöfer 1982, 7-9 (et n. 16); Manfredi 1986; Seibert 1985, 18-19; voir également la discussion intéressante de Dillemann 1962, 147-162 et les remarques de von Hagen 1981.

[5] Il en est de même dans l'exposé que fait Hérodote (III 97sqq.) de la réforme de Darius: il commence sa description par les districts tributaires d'Asie Mineure occidentale.

[6] Sur l'absence de référence explicite à Persépolis dans les textes classiques (avant Alexandre), voir les remarques de Cameron (1973, 55-56) et d'Amandry (1987, 164-165 n. 8).

[7] Voir également Naveh 1981 (ostraka araméens de Tell-Arad).

[8] Si ces textes étaient retrouvés un jour (ce qui paraît peu probable: ne rêvons pas!), ils permettraient en principe de reconstituer avec précision le trajet Sardes-Suse, comme Koch (1986) a pu le faire pour le trajet Suse-Persépolis.

Ces haltes et magasins, où les voyageurs officiels pouvaient trouver gîte et couvert, Hérodote (V 52) en fait mention explicite: «Il a tout le long des stations royales (*stathmoi basileioi*) et de très belles hôtelleries (*katalusies kallistai*)».[10] De son côté, Xénophon (*Cyr.* VIII 6,17) précise qu'il existait des relais, où les messagers rapides pouvaient trouver un cheval frais: référence évidente au système dénommé *pirradaziš* dans les 'travel texts' (cf. Lewis 1980).[11]

2.1. Les 'travels texts' de Persépolis — rapprochés d'une lettre d'Arshama[12] — montrent également que, pour voyager sur les routes royales et avoir accès aux magasins disposés dans les haltes officielles, on devait être impérativement porteur d'un 'document scellé' (*halmi*), qui constituait à la fois un sauf-conduit et un bon de route (cf. également *Néhémie* 2, 7-9). Il semble bien que ce document était délivré par une autorité, qui paraît être le plus souvent le satrape de la région d'où s'organise le voyage.[13]

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[9] Une inscription hellénistique (Welles 1934, no.18,ligne 4-6) fait référence à l'"ancienne route que les paysans voisins ont mise en culture"; il est probable que cette route remontait à l'époque perse (Welles 1934, 93; Sekunda 1988, 186-187).

[10] Legrand (comm. *ad loc.*) pense que le premier terme renvoie à "des gîtes d'étape sous bonne garde, pour le roi et les grands personnages en déplacement, des relais pour l'*aggareion*; les [seconds] étaient des caravansérails". Sur les *basilikoi stathmoi*, voir aussi Elien, *VH* II 24 et D.S. XIX 92,3 (cf. Briant 1988b).

[11] Sur le système des courriers rapides, voir également *Esther* 3,13 et 8,10-14.

[12] Le rapprochement est dû en premier lieu à Benveniste (1958, 63-65). Ce document a été étudié en détail par Whitehead 1974, 59-68. Cf. également *RTP*, 311, n.89 et Briant 1985b, 65-66.

[13] Cette hypothèse est induite du rôle d'Irdapirna/Artaphernès à Sardes (PFT 1404) et d'Irdabanuš à Bactres (1287,1555) qui, l'un et l'autre, délivrent le 'document scellé' aux voyageurs qu'ils envoient en mission: or l'un et l'autre sont connus par les sources classiques pour être, le premier satrape de Sardes, le second satrape de Bactriane (Lewis 1977, 2; 19, n.96). C'est évidemment la raison (non explicitée) pour laquelle Koch (1986, 142 et 144), partant du grand nombre de documents scellés délivrés par Bakabana pour des voyages partant de Suse, et par Karkiš pour des voyages partant de Kerman, juge que le premier est satrape de Suse, le second satrape de Carmanie (où il est manifestement en résidence: 1466; il ne semble pas pouvoir être reconnu sous "Karkiš, le satrape (à) Puruš": 681 [localisation inconnue, cf. Hallock 1969, 746:"peut-être Pura en Gédrosie"]; Tuplin 1987, 128, n.71 juge cependant qu'il s'agit de la même personne). En poursuivant l'hypothèse, on pourrait conclure que Bakabaduš (1351 et 1358) est satrape d'Arachosie, et Harbamišša (1438) est satrape d'Arie: cf. en ce sens Bivar 1988, 205 à propos de Bakabaduš. Mais, les choses ne sont pas toujours aussi simples (cf. Lewis 1977, 5, n.14 et 8, n.31). A l'époque même où Bakabada est 'satrape de Suse', un autre personnage, Mardunda, délivre des documents scellés à partir de Suse (1352, 1400-1402, 1528-29). Il arrive également assez fréquemment que le roi (ou Parnaka) donne un *halmi*, pour des voyages à partir de Suse: vers Kerman (1348, 1393), l'Arachosie (1385, 1440, 1550), l'Inde (1383, 2057), Persépolis ou d'autres localités en Perse (1385, 1422, 1448, 1570, 1573; cf.1370, 1409 et PFa 16-17 pour Parnaka). Il est probable que le roi était alors à Suse (cf.1486 et PFa 22). Il arrive aussi que le roi ait donné l'*halmi* pour des voyages qui partent de régions plus éloignées: de l'Inde (1318; cf.1552: Parnaka), de l'Arie (2056), de l'Arachosie (1474) ou encore de la Sagartie (PFa 31) et de la Médie (PFa 31). On rencontre la même situation sur le document se rapportant à un déplacement de

Sans se référer à cette pratique (qu'ignore Hérodote), les textes classiques confirment indirectement le rôle des autorités satrapiques en la matière. Il est impossible pour un Grec — y compris pour un ambassadeur officiel — de prendre la route vers Suse, ou plus généralement vers le roi, sans avoir reçu le précieux sésame délivré par le satrape dans le gouvernement duquel il a débarqué.[14] Lorsqu'en 408, des ambassadeurs venus d'Athènes et d'autres cités grecques furent envoyés vers le roi, ils durent attendre le bon vouloir de Pharnabaze. Dans un premier temps, celui-ci s'était engagé à «amener les ambassadeurs auprès du roi» (Xénophon, *Hell.* I 3,8). La caravane hiverna en Phrygie, à Gordion, l'une des grandes étapes sur la Voie Royale. Au début du printemps suivant (407), on reprit la route «pour aller trouver le roi» (*ibid.* I 4,1-2). Pourtant, les choses ne s'arrangèrent pas: la caravane croisa Cyrus le Jeune envoyé par son père prendre la tête d'un grand gouvernement en Asie Mineure: «A ces nouvelles, les envoyés athéniens, surtout lorsqu'ils virent Cyrus, voulurent plus que jamais aller trouver le roi — sinon, s'en retourner chez eux». Sur les ordres de Cyrus, «Pharnabaze put les retenir pendant un certain temps, en leur racontant tantôt qu'il allait les conduire chez le roi, tantôt qu'il allait les renvoyer chez eux ... C'est au bout de trois années qu'il demanda à Cyrus la permission de les renvoyer, en déclarant qu'il avait prêté serment, et qu'il les ferait ramener à la mer, puisqu'il ne les conduisait pas vers le roi. On les expédia à Ariobarzanès, en lui demandant de leur donner une escorte; celui-ci les fit conduire à Kios en Mysie, d'où ils s'embarquèrent pour rejoindre le reste de l'armée» (I 4,6-7).

Il appartient donc au satrape de donner un sauf-conduit, un bon de route et une escorte aux voyageurs qui entendent emprunter les routes royales (cf. également Plutarque, *Alc.* 31,1). Les ambassadeurs grecs, par exemple, sont donc extrêmement dépendant du bon vouloir du satrape qui peut, pour une raison ou pour une autre, s'opposer à leur voyage. Lorsque, vers 360,[15] Athènes conféra des honneurs au roi Straton de Sidon, c'est qu'«il a veillé à ce que les ambassadeurs envoyés par le peuple auprès du roi aient des

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Datis entre Sardes et le roi: le document scellé lui a été confié par le roi; dans une autre tablette inédite (à laquelle fait référence Lewis 1980), c'est Bakabana ('satrape de Suse') qui autorise un voyage de Sardes vers Parnaka. Il est probable que, dans le premier cas, l'*halmi* valait pour l'aller et le retour (cf. Lewis 1980). De même Grelot 1972, n° 67 montre que, bien que résidant (temporairement) en Babylonie, il revient à Arshama, satrape d'Egypte, de confier le document scellé à son intendant qui repart en Egypte (d'où il était sans doute venu à l'initiative du satrape: bien entendu, le rapprochement que j'établis ici n'a de valeur que si l'on admet que les intendants cités dans la lettre d'Arshama sont bien chargés des étapes officielles sur la voie royale vers Damas et l'Egypte: cf. Briant 1985b, 65-66).

[14] Cf. d'ailleurs Hérodote VII 135-136: envoyés "chez les Mèdes", les hérauts spartiates, avant "de se rendre à Suse" se présentent d'abord à Hydarnès, "commandant des troupes des régions littorales": c'est sans doute de ce haut personnage qu'ils reçurent l'autorisation de monter vers le roi à Suse.

[15] La datation est contestée: cf. Austin 1944 (367); Moysey 1975, 244-245 (364).

conditions de voyage aussi bonnes que possible» (Tod II, n°139). Comme l'on sait qu'il y avait à Sidon des représentants satrapiques (cf. D.S. XVI 40), on peut supposer que Straton s'est entremis auprès du satrape pour faire obtenir un 'document scellé' aux ambassadeurs athéniens.[16]

Ce qui était vrai des envoyés officiels l'était encore plus de simples particuliers désirant demander audience au roi. L'exemple d'Alcibiade en témoigne éloquemment: «Il résolut de monter auprès d'Artaxerxès ... Quant au moyen de voyager en toute sécurité, il pensa que Pharnabaze était le plus capable de les lui donner et il alla le trouver en Phrygie [Hellespontique]» (Plutarque *Alc.* 37,7-8). D'après Ephore, le satrape refusa «de lui donner une escorte pour aller au palais du roi. Alcibiade partit pour aller chez le satrape de Paphlagonie, de façon à monter, grâce à lui, jusqu'auprès du roi» (D.S. XIV 11). Mais, l'Athénien se rendit vite compte qu'il ne lui était pas possible de voyager sans autorisation. Pharnabaze envoya en effet un corps de troupe à sa poursuite, commandé par son frère et son oncle (Plutarque *Alc.* 39,1). Alcibiade fut rattrapé dans un village de Phrygie — nommé Melissa par Athénée (XIII 574e-f) — où il fut exécuté.[17]

La seule possibilité était de disposer de complicités sur place. Ce fut le cas de Thémistocle qui, en rupture avec Athènes, débarqua à Kymè d'Eolide. Son sort était d'autant moins enviable que sa tête avait été mise à prix par le roi. Il était heureusement lié à un habitant d'Aigai d'Eolide, Nicogénès, qui, lui-même, «avait des relations chez des nobles perses du haut-pays». Grâce à ces relations, Thémistocle put partir à l'intérieur d'un chariot complètement fermé, à l'intérieur duquel les Perses faisaient voyager leurs femmes: «Les gens qui l'accompagnaient répondaient chaque fois à ceux qu'ils rencontraient et qui leur posaient des questions que c'était une fille d'origine grecque qu'ils menaient d'Ionie à un des nobles de l'antichambre du roi» (Plutarque *Thém.* 26). Un autre moyen, tout aussi risqué, consistait à employer des itinéraires détournés. Lorsque Thémistocle redescendit vers la mer, il se trouva en butte à l'hostilité déclarée d'un haut administrateur perse de Grande-Phyrgie, du nom d'Epixyès. Celui-ci avait apposté des Pisidiens, chargés d'abattre Thémistocle, lorsqu'il parviendrait à Léontokephalai, très importante étape sur la Voie Royale, située entre Gordion et Kelainai (sur ce site, cf. Bruce 1967, 139-40). Averti de l'embuscade, Thémistocle quitta la grande route et prit un chemin de traverse qui lui permit d'éviter Leontokephalai (Plut. *Thém.* 30).

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[16] Je laisse de côté la question de savoir si Sidon était bien le siège d'une satrapie (ainsi Elayi 1980, 25-26) ou si les cités phéniciennes, à cette date, dépendaient d'une autre satrapie (la Transeuphratène).

[17] Sur tout l'épisode, ses localisations géographiques et sur les itinéraires, on verra l'étude détaillée de Robert 1980, 257-307 ("Le lieu de la mort d'Alcibiade").

2.3. Les grandes artères de communication n'existant que pour le service du roi, il n'existe pas en effet de liberté de circulation, au sens où l'entendent aujourd'hui les traités internationaux. C'est aux satrapes qu'il appartient de donner ou de refuser les autorisations de transit. Ce sont eux aussi qui, sur délégation du roi, ont pour mission d'assurer la sécurité sur les routes contre les entreprises des batteurs d'estrade[18] — d'où les escortes qu'ils fournissent aux personnes autorisées.[19] Ces mêmes satrapes ont probablement mission également d'entretenir les routes royales.[20]

Les récits relatifs à Thémistocle et à Alcibiade rendent compte également de l'activité des gardes des routes (*hodophylakes*), mis en scène dans trois anecdotes romancées d'Hérodote (I 123-124; V 35; VII 239),[21] qui montrent en outre que la surveillance s'exerçait non seulement sur les personnes mais également sur les messages dont ils étaient chargés. Cette surveillance de la police des routes était certainement efficace si l'on en juge au sort que connurent trois espions envoyés par les Grecs en Ionie peu avant 480: ils ne tardèrent pas à être découverts, alors qu'ils établissaient des rapports sur l'armée royale (Hdt VII 146). Une autre contrainte, absolument insurmontable, pesait sur les 'passagers clandestins': c'est qu'il leur était interdit de trouver du ravitaillement en dehors des haltes officielles.[22] Ce qui explique en même temps que les armées — y compris les armées d'invasion — devaient nécessairement emprunter les grands axes pour pouvoir subsister (cf. Engels 1978). C'est cette situation que résume Hérodote (V 52) en écrivant que la route royale traverse «des régions habitées et sûres», c'est à dire des régions remplies de provisions et tenues d'une main ferme par les forces royales.[23]

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[18] Cf. le portrait du roi-idéal dressé par Xénophon (*Anab.* I 9,11-12): "Souvent, le long des routes fréquentées, on pouvait voir des gens qui n'avaient plus de pieds, de mains, d'yeux. Aussi, dans le gouvernement de Cyrus, il était loisible à tout Grec, à tout barbare, à condition qu'il ne fît aucun mal, de circuler partout où il voulait sans appréhension, en portant avec lui ce qu'il lui convenait". Rappelons que l'une des fautes reprochées à Oroitès était d'avoir fait tuer un messager royal (ainsi que son cheval), en lui tendant une embuscade sur la route: Hérodote III 26.

[19] Outre les textes classiques cités, voir *Néhémie* 2,9; *Esdras* 8,21-22; 31. Voir également le cas d'Oudjahorresme, qui, alors en Elam, reçoit de Darius l'ordre de regagner l'Egypte: "Les barbares me portèrent de pays en pays et me firent parvenir en Egypte, comme l'avait ordonné le Seigneur du Double Pays" (Posener 1936, 22).

[20] Cf. [Aristote] *Econ.*II 14b. On recourait probablement aux habitants du pays traversé par la route: cf. Elien, *Anim.* XV 26 (sur ce texte, cf. Briant 1988b). Le seul document explicite portant sur l'Asie Mineure est une inscription bilingue gréco-latine, mais elle date de l'époque romaine (Mitchell 1976), si bien qu'il serait risqué de transférer sur l'époque achéménide les renseignements offerts par ce texte — quand bien même on y voit le maintien du parasange (*ibid.*, 121-122). Sur l'entretien des routes, cf. aussi D.S. XVIII 38,2 (*oidopoioi*) et les propositions (prudentes) de Hallock 1978, 112-115 [cf. note suivante]. Le recours à des techniciens devaient être tout à fait indispensable sur les tronçons carrossables des routes royales (cf. en Asie Mineure Xénophon *Anab.* I 2,21).

[21] Cf. de Foucault 1967. Ce sont peut-être ces gardiens de routes qui sont sous le commandement des 'officiers de police (?)' (PFT 1250, 1487, 1902): cf. Hallock 1969, 39; cf. également Koch 1986, 135 qui, sous le terme *da-ut-ti-maráš-be*, voit des personnes en charge de la sécurité de la route (Hallock 1978, 114-115 traduit 'road counters', en supposant que leur travail était lié à l'ouverture et à l'entretien des routes). Voir également Hallock 1969, 688, *s.v.* 'halmarris'.

[22] Cela était particulièrement vrai d'une troupe ennemie, comme celle des mercenaires grecs en retraite après la mort de Cyrus. Pour avoir accès à des vivres, les Grecs doivent passer des accords avec Tissapherne, qui leur "ouvre des marchés" (*Anab.* II 3,27; 4, 5;9). Dans le cas contraire, ils ne peuvent survivre que de pillages (cf. réflexion très significative des mercenaires de Cyrus dans D.S. XIV 25).

La sécurité des grands axes était également assurée par des nombreuses garnisons et des postes de gardes: sur le parcours de la voie royale, Hérodote cite un fort poste de garde (*phylakterion*) sur l'Halys, deux aux frontières ciliciennes, un en Arménie. Mais, il y en avait bien d'autres, disposés en particulier dans les principales villes du parcours: citons par exemple Kelainai, capitale de la Grande-Phrygie, où Xerxès avait fait construire un château et une citadelle, et qui possédait une acropole fortifiée (Briant 1973, 49-53; 97sqq).[24] Kelainai commandait non seulement la Voie Royale proprement dite (vers Gordion), mais également ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la route militaire du sud qui gagnait les rivages ciliciens, via les Portes de Cilicie, elles-mêmes pourvues d'une garnison.[25]

2.4. Ces grands axes se caractérisent donc tout d'abord par leur valeur et leur fonction stratégiques: ce sont des 'routes militaires' (*militaris via*: Q.C. V 8,5; Briant 1984b, 67), qui permettent aux troupes en marche de gagner rapidement leur objectif dans les meilleures conditions. Ce sont des voies larges, parfois qualifiées par les auteurs anciens de 'carrossables', c'est à dire accessibles aux chariots.[26] Les rivières y étaient franchies sur des ponts de bâteaux.[27] En dehors de ces grands itinéraires, il existait également bien d'autres routes en Asie Mineure (Seibert 1985, 18-21). Il s'agissait parfois d'itinéraires secondaires, dont on ne connaît l'existence que par des récits de coups de main militaires. C'était le cas par exemple d'une route entre Milet et Sardes qui permit aux Athéniens, menés par des guides éphésiens, de lancer un raid surprise sur la capitale de la Lydie (Hdt V 100); elle fut empruntée plus tard par le satrape Tissapherne qui cherchait à intercepter l'armée d'Agésilas qui avait emprunté la grande route de Sardes à Ephèse via la passe de Karabel.[28] Citons également une route directe empruntée par Epyaxa entre la Lycaonie et Tarse, pendant que Cyrus prenait la grande route par les Portes Ciliciennes. Epyaxa parvint à Tarse cinq jours avant Cyrus, mais dans des conditions difficiles: «Deux compagnies de la troupe de Ménon succombèrent. Les uns racontaient qu'elles avaient été mises en pièce par les Ciliciens, tandis qu'elles étaient en train de piller, d'autres qu'étant restées en arrière sans pouvoir rejoindre le gros de l'armée, ni retrouver leur chemin, elles s'étaient perdu et avaient péri» (Xénophon *Anab.* I 2,25).[29]

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[23] Cf. l'opposition entre deux types de routes dans D.S. XIX 19,2 (cf. Briant 1982, 84).

[24] Sur Kelainai, cf. également Manfredi 1986, 33-38. Sur les garnisons, voir l'étude très complète de Tuplin 1987. Voir également Lemaire-Lozachmeur 1987.

[25] Sur ce trajet, voir Cousin 1904, 235-274; Manfredi 1986, 38-80; Mutafian 1988 I, 113-171.

[26] Cf. Xénophon *Anab.* I 2,21 (*hodos amaxitos* près des Portes Ciliciennes);cf. également Arrien III 16,2 (entre Gaugamèles et Babylone et Suse); Arrien III 18,1 (*amaxitos*) et Q.C. V 3,16 (*campestre iter*) (entre Fahliyun et Persepolis: *RTP*, 161-173); Arrien III 23,2 (en Hyrcanie). Mais, ce n'était certainement le cas sur tous les trajets, comme le montre en particulier la mise en culture, à l'époque hellénistique, d'une ancienne route près de Cyzique (cf. n.9).

[27] Des rivières 'porte-bâteaux' comme l'écrit Hérodote (V 52) du Haut-Euphrate, du Tigre, du Grand et du Petit Zab, du Gyndès (Diyala), du Choaspès. Voir également Xénophon, *Anab.* I 2,5 (Méandre), I 4,11 (Euphrate), III 4,24 (Tigre).

3 *Communications fluviales et maritimes.*

Si prolixes sur l'organisation des routes royales, les auteurs classiques sont remarquablement discrets sur les communications fluviales et maritimes. Si elles sont bien documentées en Egypte et en Babylonie (cf. Briant 1986b), elles étaient également utilisées en Asie Mineure: elles y tenaient en effet une place de choix dans les rapports à l'intérieur de l'Asie Mineure proprement dite (échanges régionaux), mais aussi entre l'Asie Mineure et la Babylonie (échanges inter-régionaux). De nombreux fleuves d'Asie Mineure (et d'ailleurs)[30] étaient navigables dans l'antiquité et constituaient les artères privilégiées des communications entre la côte et l'arrière-pays. Ils étaient particulièrement utilisés pour transporter les produits pondéreux, tel le bois (Fales 1983). Partant de la représentation des dieux-fleuves sur les monnaies, Robert a pu montrer que tel était le cas en Asie Mineure septentrionale de l'Hypios, du Sangarios, du Rhyndakos, de l'Iris, du Lykos, du Billios ou encore de l'Halys (Robert 1980). Une bonne partie des bois de Lycie et de Cilicie était apportée à la côte par voie fluviale (Robert 1937, 504-506). C'est ainsi que, dans l'antiquité, les navires remontaient le Cydnos jusqu'à Tarse (Robert 1987, 94). Ce mode de transport est très largement attesté par les textes classiques en Asie Mineure (Mulliez 1982), également en Syrie où la plupart des rivières côtières étaient navigables dans l'antiquité.[31]

Par ailleurs, les routes côtières étaient bien souvent peu commodes ou, en tout cas, inaccessibles aux lourds convois.[32] Il était beaucoup plus aisé de recourir au cabotage pour le transport de produits pondéreux. De nombreux exemples historiques témoignent de ce choix privilégié. En 396/5, le Spartiate Agésilas, alors en Paphlagonie, négocia un mariage entre le dynaste Otys et la fille de Spithridatès qui se trouvait alors à Cyzique; il était impossible de faire venir la jeune fille par voie de terre avant le printemps, en raison du froid et de la neige; pressé de mettre l'accord à exécution, Otys fit valoir que, si on le voulait, on pourrait bien la faire venir rapidement par mer: «Aussitôt Agésilas ... fit armer une trière et donna l'ordre au Lacédémonien Callias de ramener la jeune fille» (Xénophon *Hell.* IV 1,4-15). Pour tourner les Portes Ciliciennes, dont les fortifications descendaient jusqu'à la mer (voir les reconnaissances de Dunand 1968, 46-48), Cyrus le Jeune comptait lui aussi sur sa flotte: «Il voulait débarquer des hoplites entre les deux portes, au-delà de la seconde, pour bousculer l'ennemi et passer, s'il gardait les portes de Syrie» (Xénophon *Anab.* I 4,5). C'est également par voie de mer qu'Alexandre, alors en Syrie du Nord, envoya des espions chargés de se rendre compte des positions adoptées par Darius III à Issos (Arrien II 7,1). Ce sont enfin des arguments analogues que fait valoir Hécatônymos pour persuader les mercenaires grecs de Xénophon d'aller par mer plutôt que par terre de Kôtyora à Sinope puis à Héraclée sur la Mer Noire. S'ils prennent en effet la voie de terre, ils se heurteront aux redoutables paphlagoniens et à des fleuves infranchissables: «Cette route ... est absolument infranchissable. Au contraire, si vous prenez la mer, de ce pays-ci vous pourrez ranger la côte jusqu'à Sinope, et de Sinope jusqu'à Héraclée. D'Héraclée, vous pourrez aller aussi aisément par terre que par mer, car en cette ville on trouve beaucoup de bâteaux» (Xénophon *Anab.* V 6,5-10; cf.Robert 1980, 192).

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[28] Voir Foss 1978, 28; sur la campagne d'Agesilas, voir Dugas 1910 et Bruce 1966, 82-92.

[29] La reconstitution de l'itinéraire d'Epyaxa et de Ménon a donné lieu à de nombreuses hypothèses: cf. Manfredi 1986, 67-70; Mutafian 1988 I,123-124. Cavaignac 1956 l'identifie à l'itinéraire emprunté par le roi Nériglissar en campagne contre Appuašu en 557/6 — mais la publication d'une inscription araméenne d'époque achéménide a permis de situer l'une des capitales d'Appuašu, Kiršu, sur le site actuel de Meydancikkale (cf. Davesne-Lemaire-Lozachmeur 1987, 372-377), si bien que l'hypothèse de Cavaignac devient caduque.

[30] Pline (VI 97-99) cite par exemple plusieurs rivières navigables sur la côte perse du Golfe Persique.

[31] Strabon (XVI 2,16) cite le Lycos et le Jourdain: le second terme est probablement une erreur de copiste pour l'Oronte (Rey-Coquais 1974, 74-76; cf. 174-176). Sur la navigation sur l'Oronte, cf. également Elayi 1987a, 258, n. 43.

[32] Cf. par exemple sur les côtes lyciennes et pamphyliennes: Hamilton 1969, 44-45 et Bosworth

D'une manière générale, pour qui voulait se rendre de Babylone à la côte d'Asie Mineure occidentale, il était incomparablement plus facile et rapide de rejoindre la Cilicie via Thapsaque et d'y embarquer pour la côte ionienne. Ainsi, par exemple, Mardonios fut chargé de l'expédition en Grèce: «Arrivé en Cilicie à la tête de ses forces, il monta lui-même sur un vaisseau et partit avec le reste de la flotte, tandis que d'autres officiers menaient vers l'Hellespont l'armée de terre» (Hdt. VI 41). Plus rapides, les communications maritimes sont également plus efficaces en ce qui concerne les produits pondéreux. Ainsi, après le licenciement de sa flotte à Milet, Alexandre conserva quelques navires, 'qu'il utilisait pour le transport du matériel de siège' (D.S. XVII 22,5); 'il fit transporter par voie de mer tout le matériel de siège et les vivres' (24,1) — de même entre Tyr et Gaza (Arrien II 27,3).[33] Toute expédition

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1980, 164-166; également Robert 1978a, 10-18, en particulier p.18: "De Caunos à Telmessos et à l'ouest de la Lycie, c'est par mer qu'avaient lieu les communications".

[33] A rapprocher d'*Esdras* 3,7: les Sidoniens et les Tyriens apportent par mer jusqu'à Jaffa des bois de cèdre du Liban. Cf. Briquel-Chatonnet 1988, 309-310.

militaire par terre était accompagnée d'une flotte de transport. Tel était le cas en particulier de toutes les expéditions lancées de Syrie contre l'Egypte (e.g. D.S. XVI 40).

D'où l'importance à la fois commerciale et stratégique des ports ciliciens, où s'établissait le lien entre la route royale venant de Babylonie via Thapsaque (Manfredi 1986, 80-112) et les communications maritimes. C'est à Issos que Cyrus le Jeune, qui avait pris la voie de terre, retrouva la flotte qui avait appareillé d'Ephèse (*Anab.* I 2,4). Issos conserva un rôle de premier plan dans le système des communications d'Alexandre; c'est dans ce port que débarquaient les renforts venus d'Europe; à partir d'Issos, ils gagnaient par voie de terre le théâtre des opérations. L'importance de Myriandros n'était pas moindre: «Ville habitée par les Phéniciens sur le bord de la mer, c'était un emporion où étaient mouillés un grand nombre de navires marchands» (*Anab.* I 4,5). C'est d'ailleurs de ce port que deux généraux grecs quittèrent le camp de Cyrus pour rejoindre la Grèce (I 4,6). La situation de Myriandros est en effet exceptionnelle: «[Elle] se situe au lieu de jonction de deux routes économiques importantes: la route qui, par les Portes de l'Amanus, relie le Golfe d'Issos à l'Euphrate et la route qui, par les Portes Ciliciennes, relie la Syrie à la Cilicie côtière; sa position est celle d'une plaque tournante commerciale» (Kestemont 1983, 66; cf.Kestemont 1985, 135-137).

La liaison entre Babylone et l'Asie Mineure occidentale s'établissait grâce à la conjonction de trois types de voies: fluviales, terrestres et maritimes. Le coude de l'Euphrate n'est guère distant que de 180km des rivages méditerranéens, avec lesquels les échanges ont toujours été actifs. C'est bien ce que laisse entendre Hérodote, en écrivant à propos des bâteaux de l'Euphrate: «Ce qu'on transporte ainsi, ce sont surtout des jarres contenant du vin de Phénicie» (I 194), et en faisant référence plus haut (I 185) à «ceux qui se rendent de notre mer [Méditerranée] jusqu'à Babylone ... en descendant l'Euphrate».[34] Une route reliait en effet la côte méditerranéenne au coude de l'Euphrate, d'où l'importance (en des temps plus anciens) de sites comme ceux de Carchémish et d'Emar: c'est là que les caravaniers déchargeaient leurs marchandises, qui étaient alors transbordées sur des bâteaux (Oppenheim 1967, 239; Finet 1969 et 1985). A l'époque achéménide, le site le plus important semble être Thapsaque, dont la localisation reste encore disputée (Manfredi 1986, 104-112). Thapsaque est éloignée de la Méditerranée par un trajet de sept jours selon Strabon (XVI 1,11).[35] La grande route royale y franchit le fleuve sur un pont de bâteaux (*Anab.* I 4,18; Arrien III 7,1-2). Il s'agissait donc bien d'un site de première importance, qualifié par Xénophon de «ville habitée, grande et riche (*ôikeito … megalè kai eudaimôn*» (I 4,11)).[36] Il s'agit donc d'un site stratégique:[37] face à des envahisseurs, les Perses coupent ou brûlent les ponts pour retarder la marche de l'armée ennemie. L'emploi complémentaire des voies maritimes et terrestres devait être très fréquent, puisque l'Athénien Conon, alors à Chypre, et désirant joindre rapidement le roi, fit voile vers la Cilicie, puis gagna Thapsaque par voie de terre et «descendit l'Euphrate jusqu'à Babylone» (D.S. XIV 79).

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[34] Nul mieux que le document admirablement commenté par Oppenheim (1967) peut illustrer concrètement les passages d'Hérodote.

[35] Selon Cyrus le Jeune, il fallait 12 jours de marche pour aller de Tarse (*Anab.* I 3,20); mais, P. Masqueray 1959-61 (note *ad loc.*) remarque qu'il fallut en réalité 19 jours à l'armée pour faire le trajet.

Débarqués dans les ports ciliciens et syriens, hommes et marchandises gagnaient Thapsaque par voie de terre puis, à partir de Thapsaque, descendaient l'Euphrate jusqu'à Babylone. En 324, Alexandre fit construire une flotte en Phénicie, quarante cinq navires au total: «Ces navires avaient été apportés démontés de Phénicie jusqu'à l'Euphrate, à la ville de Thapsaque, où ils avaient été réassemblés; de là, ils avaient descendu le fleuve jusqu'à Babylone» (Arrien VII 20,2-4). Ce sont des mesures logistiques analogues qu'avaient adoptées le pharaon Thoutmôsis lors d'une de ses campagnes asiatiques qui le mena au-delà de l'Euphrate. Pour permettre à ses troupes de passer le fleuve, il avait fait «charpenter de nombreux bâteaux de charge en bois de sapin» dans la région de Byblos: «Placés sur ces chars, que des boeufs ont tirés, ils tournèrent en présence de Sa Majesté pour traverser ce grand fleuve» (Moret 1933; *ANET*^{2}, 240): les chariots de l'illustre pharaon avaient donc emprunté la route entre Byblos et Carchémish, via Tripoli, Lataquieh et Alep. Plusieurs versions de la Charte de Fondation du palais de Darius à Suse attestent de l'existence de tels modes de transport à l'époque achéménide.[38]

En 437/6, l'Athénien Diotimos conduisit une ambassade à Suse. Strabon, qui n'a manifestement aucune confiance dans son prédécesseur Damaste, transmet l'information qu'il doit à Erathosthène: «Erathosthène nous indique une bêtise de ce Damaste, parce que celui-ci disait que le Golfe Arabique est un lac et que Diotimos, fils de Strombichos, en dirigeant une ambassade d'Athéniens, voyagea par voie d'eau à travers le Cydnos en Cilicie jusqu'au fleuve Choaspes qui s'écoule de Suse, et arriva après quarante jours à Suse et que ces choses lui avaient été dites par ce même Diotimos» (I 3,1; trad. Mazzarino 1959, 95). Ce texte pose de nombreux problèmes (y compris l'établissement du texte lui-même). Comment comprendre, en effet, qu'un voyage par voie d'eau continue ait été possible entre la Cilicie et Suse? Erathosthène et Strabon considéraient manifestement les informations de Damastes comme de simples balivernes, et Strabon ne les transmet que pour prouver que Damastes n'est pas un géographe crédible.

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[36] Sur le sens de l'expression chez Xénophon, cf. Geysels 1974

[37] Les sites anciens, comme celui de Carchémish, n'ont cependant pas été abandonnés; les fouilles menées sur le site de Deve Hüyük, à 27km au SSW de Carchémish, prouvent en effet la présence d'une garnison achéménide: cf. Moorey 1975 qui juge que la garnison était chargée de garder les gués de l'Euphrate qui donnaient accès à Alep (p.115). Selon Farrel 1961, 153, Thapsaque doit être identifié à Carchémish.

[38] *DSf* (v.p.), *DSf* (accadien), *DSz* (élamite): "Le bois de cèdre employé ici fut apporté d'une montagne appelée Liban. Les gens de l'autre côté du fleuve (Syriens) l'apportèrent jusqu'à Babylone: de Babylone, les Cariens et les Ioniens l'apportèrent jusqu'à Suse" (*DSf* (accadien), trad. Stève 1987, 76): sur le rôle des Ioniens et des Cariens, voir les interprétations de Mazzarino 1966, 76-77.

Selon Mazzarino (1959, 94-99; cf.1966, 81-82), il faut comprendre que, venant d'Athènes par voie de mer jusqu'en Cilicie, les vaisseaux athéniens ont gagné le delta du Nil, puis ont emprunté le canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge, puis ont repris le trajet de circumnavigation de l'Arabie jusqu'au fond du Golfe Persique d'où il était facile de remonter jusqu'à Suse. Le fragment de Strabon prouverait donc que le canal de Darius était toujours employé au milieu du Vè siècle et que, depuis Darius, il existait une ligne régulière entre le Nil et le Golfe Persique. J'avais cru devoir adopter cette interprétation dans une étude antérieure (Briant 1986b),[39] mais il appert désormais qu'elle est intenable. Tout d'abord, les études de Salles rendent clair qu'une ligne régulière de circumnavigation de l'Arabie, surtout dans un délai aussi court que celui qui est cité par Strabon, est absolument impossible à concevoir; il ajoute que le canal de Darius n'a probablement jamais eu les fonctions qu'on lui a longtemps attribuées (Salles 1988a; sur le canal Tuplin, ce vol.). Il paraît bien clair d'autre part que Mazzarino a mal compris le texte. C'est ce que remarque brièvement en passant Rougé (1988, 64, n.29). Sur ce point, la démonstration de Breebaart (1967) lève toutes les doutes. A la lumière des exemples précédemment cités, la solution tombe sous le sens: Diotimos et ses collègues ont utilisé un trajet classique: débarquement dans un port cilicien,[40] trajet par voie de terre jusqu'à Thapsaque, embarquement sur l'Euphrate d'où il était aisé de gagner Suse par voie d'eau continue (Briant 1986b). Si Damastes avait considéré comme remarquable le voyage de Diotimos, c'est en raison de sa rapidité (Breebaart 1967, 430): elle ne pouvait en effet que stupéfier des Grecs de la seconde moitié du Ve siècle, qui pouvaient lire chez Hérodote qu'il fallait trois mois de marche pour relier Sardes à Suse.

4 Un bilan et quelques questions.

Les sources classiques offrent de nombreux renseignements à qui veut reconstituer le réseau des routes en Asie Mineure (et dans bien d'autres régions de l'empire d'ailleurs). Ce point n'a été que brièvement abordé dans le texte ci-dessus. Si le tracé des deux grandes routes terrestres est à peu près connu (en dépit des divergences plus ou moins grandes), il reste beaucoup à faire pour reconstituer ce que j'ai appelé d'une manière générique (et un peu vague) les itinéraires secondaires. Il serait sans doute préférable de distinguer voies interrégionales et voies locales (voir e.g. Rey-Coquais 1974, 70-74), en fonction du territoire qu'elles traversent et qu'elles commandent.[41] Il paraît clair par exemple que les rivières d'Asie Mineure sont des axes secondaires dans la mesure où elles commandent uniquement le trafic dans une micro-région, réduite *grosso modo* au territoire d'une cité. Y compris dans l'étude du cabotage, il convient de distinguer le cabotage local entre deux cités voisines, et les liaisons maritimes inter-régionales (d'Ephèse à Issos par exemple) qui, pour des raisons techniques, ne peuvent s'effectuer qu'en serrant la côte. Pour ce qui est des itinéraires secondaires, il est clair que les sources écrites, aussi utiles soient-elles, restent insuffisantes. Il importe de multiplier les études régionales (voire micro-régionales) à l'aide de prospections systématiques. Le réseau de routes et de pistes est en effet l'un des modes de contrôle territorial, en liaison avec le réseau de places-fortes et de garnisons (cf. *RTP* 175-225). C'est à l'aide de tous ces paramètres que l'on pourra cartographier l'emprise territoriale perse dans telle ou telle micro-région.

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[39] J'ai déjà proposé l'interprétation développée ici dans une communication présentée en janvier 1986 à la Maison de l'Orient à Lyon.

[40] La mention du Cydnus fait immédiatement conclure à Tarse. Contrairement à ce qu'écrit Breebaart (1967, 430) — qui n'a pas compris l'allusion au Cydnus — ce fleuve pouvait être remonté jusqu'à Tarse dans l'antiquité (Robert 1987, 94; cf. ci-dessus).

Dans ces conditions, l'étude conjointe des réseaux terrestres, fluviaux et maritimes conduit à hiérarchiser les régions du point de vue du pouvoir perse, en fonction de la place qu'elles tenaient aussi bien dans les échanges que dans la stratégie. Il paraît bien clair en particulier qu'une région comme la Cilicie, dont on a plutôt tendance à croire qu'elle jouissait d'une large autonomie, était une position-clef. Les découvertes récentes montrent d'ailleurs que le pouvoir perse y était plus solidement installé que l'on ne pensait (Davesne-Lemaire-Lozachmeur 1987).

Reste à s'interroger sur les fonctions de ces axes de communications. Le sujet est trop immense pour pouvoir être traité ici. Je me contenterai de quelques remarques sous forme interrogative. Il est tout à fait notable que les sources classiques, de même que les tablettes de Persépolis, réduisent l'utilisation des routes à des fonctions militaires et politiques: on y voit circuler les hommes du roi, ses messagers, le roi et la cour (Briant 1988b), ses familiers (PFT 684, 688, PFa 5,31), des troupes, des porteurs de tributs (e.g. Nepos *Datames* 4,2; cf. PFT 1342, 1357, 1495; PFa 14; Grelot 1972 no.74), des ambassadeurs grecs, des représentants de peuples soumis envoyés en mission (Oudjahorresne, Néhémie, Esdras) ...[42] On admet généralement comme allant de soi qu'elles étaient également parcourues par des caravanes de marchands (cf. Koch 1986, 134).[43] Le problème est qu'il n'est nulle part fait mention explicite de marchands circulant de Sardes à Suse[44] — mis à part précisément des marchands qui suivent et accompagnent les armées.[45] Certes, il faut tenir compte des lacunes de la documentation. Mais, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il n'est nulle part fait référence, dans les sources classiques, à des marchands circulant sur ces grands axes et se vouant au 'long distance trade'. Les seules références à cette catégorie se placent sur les itinéraires maritimes (Xénophon *Anab.* I 3,24; I 4,6), itinéraires maritimes qui sont eux-mêmes des axes stratégiques de la plus haute importance.[46] Il est tentant de postuler que cette image est une illusion, puisque les auteurs classiques ne s'intéressent guère qu'aux faits militaires et diplomatiques. Mais n'est-ce qu'une illusion? Ne doit-on pas plutôt supposer que la majeure partie des échanges à longue distance entre les cités grecques[47] et les grands centres du coeur de l'Empire achéménide s'effectuait préférentiellement par voie de mer jusque dans le golfe d'Alexandrette et/ou les ports phéniciens,[48] puis par caravane jusqu'à l'Euphrate, enfin par voie fluviale, selon l'itinéraire étudié ci-dessus?[49]

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[41] Distinguer grands axes et itinéraires secondaires en fonction de la sécurité qui y règne serait sans doute trop systématique et réducteur. Par exemple, pour reprendre le cas de l'itinéraire suivi par Epyaxa, le récit de Xénophon ne prouve pas à proprement parler qu'il n'y a jamais eu de garnison perse sur le trajet Lycaonie-Tarse; ces garnisons peuvent ne pas apparaître dans le récit de Xénophon pour des motifs purement conjoncturels (cf. pour comparaison *RTP*, 173, n. 62). D'ailleurs, même sur les grands axes, la sécurité offerte par les garnisons n'était pas totale (cf. *Esdras* 8,21-22; 33). Il convient de prendre avec recul l'affirmation de Xénophon (citée ci-dessus n. 18); d'une part, le propos de Xénophon est apologétique; d'autre part, il marque une opposition implicite avec la situation en Grèce à la même date, où, selon Démosthène (*Amb.* 172), l'insécurité était grande sur les routes. Il est certain que le maintien de l'ordre était l'une des tâches prioritaires des satrapes, mais les expéditions répétées contre les Pisidiens (Briant 1976, 189) ou contre les Isauriens (cf.D.S. XVIII 22,1) montrent aussi qu'il s'agit là d'une tâche sans cesse à recommencer.

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[42] Je n'inclus pas ici les échanges de produits à l'intérieur du Fars lui-même, qui ne relèvent évidemment pas du commerce.

[43] Voir également Cuyler Young 1988, 98: "And the famous royal roads ... were as open to caravan traffic and economic travel as they were to the king's messengers and troops": cf. *infra* n. 49.

[44] Dans son article consacré au commerce dans l'empire achéménide, Wiesehöfer (1982, 12-14) souligne que les seules sources disponibles sont des sources babyloniennes; tout en connaissant parfaitement l'objection, il ne fait donc référence qu'aux produits cités par la charte de fondation du palais de Darius à Suse: mais, précisément, il ne s'agit pas de commerce.

[45] Cf. chez les Dix Mille: Xénophon *Anab.* I 5,6 (marché lydien); dans l'armée d'Alexandre: Arrien VI 22,4sqq (marchands phéniciens). Sur ces problèmes, cf. aussi Briant 1986a, 47, n. 14.

[46] Voir en particulier D.S. XV 3,1-3: l'armée perse en opération à Chypre ne peut plus être ravitaillée par les marchands (*emporoi*) appareillant de ports ciliciens, en raison du blocus imposé par Evagoras.

[47] L'expression 'cités grecques' doit d'ailleurs être précisée. Perreault (1986, 168) montre très nettement que "les échanges avec le Proche-Orient sont toujours, à cette époque, entre les mains des marchands des différentes cités grecques d'Asie Mineure (et non des Athéniens) qui, transportaient, à l'occasion, des marchandises en provenance d'Athènes".

[48] Rappelons qu'à l'époque de Xénophon, l'emporion de Myriandros ("où étaient mouillés un grand nombre de navires marchands") reste "une ville habitée par les Phéniciens" (*Anab.* I 4,6): cf. Kestemont 1983 et 1985 (p. 135).

[49] La prospérité, souvent notée, des cités phéniciennes à l'époque achéménide et leurs liens, non moins attestés, avec les cités grecques (cf. Elayi 1988), pourraient s'expliquer en partie par le rôle

En d'autres termes, faire des voies royales d'Asie Mineure des indicateurs (postulés) d'un commerce à longue distance risque de déboucher sur une impasse, tant il apparaît que ce qu'on appelle le commerce à longue distance peut n'être parfois que la redistribution de produits transportés de proche en proche à l'intérieur de circuits régionaux articulés les uns aux autres.[50]

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d'intermédiaires qu'elles jouaient dans ce type d'échanges (pour la fin de l'époque néo-babylonienne, cf. les réflexions d'Oppenheim 1967, 253-254). Dans cette hypothèse, le 'rôle commercial' de la Route Royale d'Ephèse à Suse a pu être des plus réduits (bien moindre que celui que postule Elayi 1988, 81 et carte XXX, p. 204) Je suis prêt, bien au contraire, à partager l'opinion de Murray 1988, 478: "Economically overland trade through Anatolia was always a minor phenomenon, even after the building of the Persian royal road" (voir restriction du même type chez Roebuck 1988, 452: "The old view of the Ionian cities as the termini of long routes from the Anatolian plateau is no longer accepted"). Sur le rôle de Sidon comme port d'embarquement, voir également Hdt. III 136.

[50] Sur l'importance des échanges régionaux au Proche-Orient à l'époque 'achéménide', voir Salles dans ce volume. Pour une époque antérieure, voir Briquel-Chatonnet 1988.

ACHAEMENID SETTLEMENT IN CARIA, LYCIA AND GREATER PHRYGIA

N. Sekunda — Oxford

Introduction.

This paper was delivered in its original form at Groningen in May 1988, but has been revised and extended with material gathered in conjunction with the research-project entitled 'Warfare and Society in Ancient Greece', funded by the Australian Research Council, and located in the Department of Classics, The Australian National University, Canberra. It forms the third in a series examining the evidence, both archaeological and literary, concerning Achaemenid settlement in Lower Asia. In the first two (Sekunda 1988b; 1985) a number of working principles were established which have been followed in this inquiry so far, and which will also be followed in this article. These basic principles are as follows:

1) Xenophon (*Cyr.* VIII 6,10) tells us that Cyrus told his satraps to go out and establish satrapal courts, which were to be attended by those who received lands and palaces, to educate the boys, and to organize cavalry and chariots from the Persians who went out with them. Elsewhere (*Cyr.* VIII 8,20) he mentions that it was the Persian custom that the Persian rulers should raise cavalry from their own lands. Therefore, when the sources mention 'The Cavalry of Pharnabazus', which was 600 strong (Xen.*Hell.* IV 1,17 plus III 4,10), or the 600 cavalrymen of Cyrus the Younger (Xen.*An.* I 2,4), these cavalry regiments would have been composed of Persian landholders, together with their retainers, settled in the satrapies of Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia respectively. I have suggested that these Persians should be called 'knights'.

2) It seems that each 'knight' would have a number of retainers in his service, who were presumably bound to him by family and other ties. For example the Asidates of Xen.*An.* VII 8,9-23 seems to be one such 'knight', living in a *tyrsis* which was defended by a number of men when attacked, who were, one assumes, retainers of Asidates. Presumably the 'knight' would live off the revenue of one or more villages which comprised his 'estate'. An example of a knightly retainer could be Adda, of Semitic origin to judge from his name, whose tombstone, erected for him by Ariyabama, a person bearing an Iranian name, has been published recently (Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler, Schwertheim 1983, 10-18). The name Ariyabama cannot be connected with the name of any Persian 'duke' known to have been based in the area, such as

Ariobarzanes, and so it would seem reasonable to conclude that Ariyabama is a Persian 'knight', and that Adda is one of his retainers: in this case a non-Persian by race. What is not clear is the status of persons such as Adda. Xenophon (*Cyr.* I 2,15) tells us that the Persians, by which he seems to mean the Persian 'equals', or *homotimoi*, number 120,000. It is safe to assume that 'knights' such as Asidates or Ariyabama were Persian in status, but the status of non-ethnically Persian retainers such as Adda is uncertain. I presume that they too held some sort of 'Persian' status, even though they may not have been numbered among the ranks of the 'equals'.

3) I have suggested that a higher level of nobility existed above these 'knights', which I have termed 'dukes'. Frequently, it seems, Persian 'knights' would be settled together in areas underneath a 'duke'. Thus, when Spithridates deserts to Agesilaus and takes 200 of the 600 cavalry of Pharnabazus with him (Plut. *Ages.* 8,3), I have suggested that these cavalrymen consist not only of Spithridates' own retainers but also of a number of 'knights' of subordinate status, together with their own retainers.

4) Some Persian nobles of a high status seem not to fit into the pattern of rurally-based 'dukes' with lower-status 'knights' underneath them. Rather they were assigned the revenues of cities to live off. Our evidence for this comes almost exclusively from references in classical sources to Greeks who were awarded 'Persian status' and were allotted the revenues of certain cities to live off. Presumably, though, the same system may have operated for ethnic Persians.

5) Areas of Persian settlement, apart from areas mentioned as settled in the literary sources, can be identified, it seems, by gravestones of the 'Graeco-Persian' type. Tombs containing Achaemenid silverware etc. however, cannot be used in this way, at least not without supporting evidence, as the process of gift-exchange and of acculturation spread the desire to possess such items well down into the higher levels of non-Persian society in Lower Asia.

6) A clear distinction should be drawn between 'noble settlement' and 'colonization'. I shall use the term 'colonization' in a very restricted sense, meaning settlements, in villages etc., of non-noble Persians or non-Persians, who did not live off revenues derived from lands not cultivated by them directly, but rather cultivated the land themselves on individual allotments.

7) A further type of Persian 'presence' was the presence of Persian officials in satrapal capitals or large towns. Such urban centres became heavily 'Iranized' in culture. Therefore Persian artefacts etc. recovered from such sites are not of any help in the task of establishing how many Achaemenid nobles or colonists were permanently resident in the satrapy, and where their normal place of abode was.

Onomastic evidence

Names of Iranian origin occur in Lower Asia in a substantial number of later inscriptions. This evidence presents peculiar problems and has to be used with considerable caution. The names Mithridates and Mithres, both extremely widespread, are particularly suspicious cases.

The Name Mithridates. The possible historical reasons which led to the spread of the name are manifold. The Pergamenian Mithridates (Strabo XIII 4,3) was the son of one Menodotus and of Adobogion, once a concubine of Mithridates the Great. Her relatives gave his name to her son, pretending him to be the son of the king. Whilst not all persons who bore the name Mithridates wished to pass themselves off as related to the Pontic royal house, the name Mithridates, redolent as it was with royal, or at least noble, connotations, seems to have been widely adopted in hellenistic and imperial Anatolia. In this case the family which has adopted the name is free; in many more cases the bearer of the name would have been of servile origin.

Slave-names were frequently composed of only two syllables, though not all such names were exclusively servile, and it seems to have been standard practice for a person of servile origin, or of low status, wishing to pass himself off as someone of higher birth, to lengthen his name. Thus Theophrastus (*Char.* 28) tells us of one Sosias, the son of a Thracian woman, who changes his name to Sosistratos when in the army, and then enrols as an Athenian citizen in a deme, possibly with the name Sosidemos. Lucian (*Timon* 22) tells us how slaves, when left their freedom and some money by their masters, change their name from Pyrrhias or Dromon or Tibios to Megakles or Megabyzus or Protarchos. (See also Lucian *The Dream, or the Cock* 14,2 for the replacement of the name Simon by Simonides). Megabyzus is, of course, an Iranian name, and it is probable that illustrious Iranian names of this type were frequently adopted by slaves of Asiatic origin upon being granted their freedom. Cook (1983, 177) reminds us that allowance must be made for the "specious adoption of noble Iranian names for prestige purposes in Roman Asia Minor (as with two freedmen calling themselves Mazaios and Mithridates who erected a gate at Ephesus in honour of Agrippa)".

Further examples of freedmen called Mithridates exist. A third-century inscription (*IG*^{2} ii.4684) recording a dedication by one Mithridates to the god Men, found at Thorikos in the silver-mining district of Attica, was probably made by a slave or freedman connected with the industry. Further, one Mithridates son of Mithridates attested at Delphi in 139/8 is identifiable either with a slave freed in 173, or with his son (Baslez 1985, 152).

Thus in many cases where one finds the name Mithridates preserved in the epigraphic record of Lower Asia it is probable that the family who use it is not of Iranian origin, and it is possible that it was of servile origin. The name Mithridates was, it seems, especially popular because of its associations with the Pontic royal house. This explains why the name Mithridates is one of the most frequently encountered names of Iranian origin in Lower Asia. The name Mithridates is also quite common during the Achaemenid period. Consequently, even if the bearers of the name Mithridates were of Iranian race, and were descendants of Iranians settled in the West during the Achaemenid period, it would be very easy to postulate family connections of the name, but also very hazardous.

The Name Mithres. Mithres should really be considered a Greek name rather than Iranian. Ramsay (1895, 603) considered the name to be 'a mere Greek diminutive of Mithridates'. It is more probable, however, that Mithres, which is not attested as a proper Iranian name, is a Greek personal name created for slaves of eastern origin, having the required oriental 'flavour' (cf. Baslez 1985, 147-8).

Mithres is, in fact, a Greek disyllabic slave-name 'par excellence'. The first historical personage we know of who bore the name Mithres was a Syrian slave (Plut. *Mor.* 1097b, 1126e), freed by Metrodorus, a pupil of Epicurus, who eventually rose to the rank of *dioiketes* in the court of Lysimachus of Thrace (Baslez 1985, 143). Lysimachus was a monarch of odd habits, and it seems that everyone in his court used disyllabic names (Ath. *Deip.* XIV 614e-f) such as Bithys or Paris: it is even possible, perhaps probable, that Lysimachus preferred to use only freedmen in his administration. Evidently this Mithres did not find it necessary to alter his name to Mithridates or some such. Neither did C. Curtius Mithres, a freedman of Postumius domiciled at Ephesus, who is mentioned by Cicero in one of his letters (*Fam.* XIII 69).

The names Mithridates and Mithres have both been used as evidence, not only for the local survival of Persian colonists in Lower Asia after the Achaemenid period, but also as evidence for the local existence of a cult of Mithras. As has been seen, the name Mithridates seems to have been adopted for purely social reasons, and the original recipient of the name Mithres had little say in the matter. Even if a 'Mithraic' name had once been adopted in a family for religious reasons, it could have been preserved and handed down for reasons of family tradition long after any religious significance in the name had disappeared. Thus one Christian bishop, hardly a devotee of Mithras, bears the name Mithres. His name can hardly be taken as evidence for any religious sentiment. The same goes for the Romanized form Mithridatianus (*IGR* IV, 788, 789, 790), borne by the grand-priest of the Roman province of Asia in the second century A.D.

The Name Artas. Another name which occurs not infrequently is Artas. At first sight it looks as though Artas is another Iranian name derived from *arta-*, perhaps a Greek contraction of the Iranian name Αρταῖος (Hdt. VII 66,2). Some scholars have regarded the name as Anatolian (cf. Zgusta 1964, 102), and still others a Greek variant of the Messapian name *Arta* (Schulze 1966, 384 n.5). In fact the name seems to be purely Greek, an abbreviated form of a name such as Artemidoros (Ramsay 1895, 520), or some other name derived from Artemis (Robert 1963, 350-51), which had become an independent name in its own right.

Similarly the name Artimas, which seems to be indigenous (Zgusta 1964, 99-102) has often been taken as Iranian. A group of southern Anatolian *Ars*-names, which is especially widespread in Lycia, and which likewise seems to be indigenous (Zgusta 1964, 96-9) could also cause some confusion. Perhaps there have been other cases of mistaken identity.

Interpretation.

Nevertheless we are still left with a residue of names, many of them rare, seemingly of Iranian origin, which seem to reflect some form of Iranian tradition. Unfortunately is is difficult to know for what precise reason these Iranian name-forms are found. Some might have been acquired by native families through acculturation or intermarriage during the Achaemenid period. Also, although it is perfectly possible that the names have survived from Iranian families settled in the area in the Achaemenid period, it is equally possible that the names were brought into Lower Asia during the hellenistic period or even later. One further complication is that a name could have spread, through intermarriage, movement of people from one city to another, or for any number of other reasons, far away from its original location.

In consequence it is difficult to know exactly what to do with the evidence. I do not consider that by itself onomastic evidence can be used as certain proof of Iranian settlement or of colonization. On the other hand it seems foolish to discount it altogether. Perhaps the best thing to do is to mention Iranian names where they occur, and to consider each case separately on its individual merits. In many cases the individual names themselves can be connected in some way, either to one another, indicating family patterns, or to examples of the same name attested in Lower Asia in the Achaemenid period. Furthermore, leaving aside the 'popular' names like Mithridates or Mithres, many of the names which are found are quite rare, and there is no immediately obvious reason why the name should have been adopted, rather than inherited.[1]

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[1] I have not been able to consult Zwanziger 1982 or Schmitt 1982a. In some cases, furthermore, I have been unable to consult inscriptions etc. in their original publication, so the full context has not been available to me. Such cases have been indicated in the text.

Bearing these basic principles in mind we might turn to examine the evidence for Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia. The borders between these satrapies in Achaemenid times have not been established with any precision as yet, so the survey of evidence will not run in strict satrapy sequence. Rather each area where a cluster of evidence occurs will be taken in turn. Thus the evidence from eastern Caria will be considered along with the evidence from the Kolossai region of Phrygia.

Caria

Carian land-holders. When Cyrus the Younger was sent down to Sardis to replace Tissaphernes in 407, the latter seems to have been reduced to the satrapy of Caria (Lewis 1977, 119; cf. Hornblower 1982, 33), where his *oikos* was situated (see below). Xenophon (*An.* I 2,4) mentions that Tissaphernes deserted Cyrus the Younger and fled to the King with news of the impending revolt with 500 horsemen. Later on we find Tissaphernes accompanied by 300 Persian (*sic*) cuirassiers (II 5,35). These cavalrymen were presumably raised from the Persian nobility settled in Tissaphernes' satrapy of Caria. Obviously the family of Tissaphernes himself was one Persian noble family which held lands in Caria. Alongside these Persian noble families, native Carian families, such as the Hekatomnids, would also have held lands and power. One notes the reference in Polyaenus *Strat.* VII 23,1 to Mausolus' hereditary rule. It is often difficult to separate Carian families from Persian families thanks to the clumsy transmission of Achaemenid terminological practice into the classical sources. The *locus classicus* for such misunderstanding is the family of Datames.

The Family of Camisares. The name of the father of Datames given by Nepos is Camisares, a name which seems to be Iranian, and which appears in Parthian as Kamsar (Sekunda 1988a, 36). Nepos (XIV 1,1) describes Camisares as a Carian (*natione Care*), but this seems to be a misunderstanding on the part of Nepos or his source Dinon. Dinon seems to be following Achaemenid practice whereby a Persian is described as a Carian if he holds lands in Caria. We might compare the Old Persian royal inscriptions, where Gobryas is at one point [DB IV 84] described as a Persian, son of Mardonius, and elsewhere as a Patischorian [DNc 1]. Elsewhere Dadarši is described as a Persian [DB III 13-14] and as an Armenian [DB II 29]; Olmstead (1948, 110, 114) thought these references to be to separate persons, but it seems best to understand them as referring to the same Dadarši, a Persian who held lands in Armenia. We are told (frg.7) that Dinon, the principal source of Nepos, made use of Persian sources. Therefore when Nepos describes Camisares as *natione Care* it is safest to assume that he has confused the Achaemenid usage faithfully utilized by Dinon. We can see how such misunderstandings might have arisen if we compare the usage of Ctesias, who is also known to have made use of the Persian sources, and whose *Persica* is much more fully preserved, by Diodorus and Photius, than that of Dinon. When discussing the revolt of Megabyzus, which took place around the 440's, Ctesias tells us (Phot. *Bibl.* 72 p. 40b) that Megabyzus departed for Syria 'his own land' (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν). Obviously Megabyzus is a Persian who holds lands in Syria, not a Syrian with an Iranian name. It is easy to see how Nepos could have confused a similar reference in Dinon to Camisares and turned him into a Carian.

Nepos (XIV 1,1) tells us that Camisares was awarded a part of Cilicia next to Cappadocia to govern "because he had proved himself brave and active in war and faithful to his King". I have suggested that this act of faithfulness took place during the revolt of Cyrus the Younger, and that Camisares was a 'duke' who held lands in Caria, but who fled, with Tissaphernes and the 500 Persian cavalrymen, to the King to warn him of the impending revolt. He was awarded a part of Cilicia to govern after the revolt had finished, and the Cilician king Syenesis had been displaced because he had aided Cyrus. Prior to 401 therefore, the family of Camisares would have held lands in Caria.

The name Datames is also Iranian (Briant 1987, 19 n.47; Sekunda 1988a, 35-6). Another Datames is named in Aeschylus' *Persae* 960 as one of the fallen at the battle of Salamis. The text, which is heavily corrupted, reads Δοτάμας, which should probably be emended to Δατάμας. The Iranian form of the name has been fully discussed by Schmitt 1978, 38, 50 n.70: (which was not known to me when I discussed the name earlier). It is possible that the Datames of the fourth century may have been a descendant of this earlier Datames, for the name is not common, but no family connection can be established. Nevertheless the possibility that the family had been established in Caria for several generations before Camisares, and that some of these individuals may have borne the name Datames, should not be overlooked.

Glous the Carian. Glous was the son of Tamos, an Egyptian from Memphis (Diod. XIV 19,6) who had been appointed governor of Ionia and Aeolis by Cyrus the Younger. Furthermore Xenophon (*An.* I 4,2), who would have known, specifically calls Tamos an Egyptian, which leaves no doubt over the matter. Tamos commanded Cyrus' fleet when it sailed to Cilicia from Ephesus during the revolt (Xen.*An.* I 4,2). When the revolt collapsed Tamos fled to Egypt with his sons (all except Glous) to escape from Tissaphernes, but was there put to death (Diod. XIV 35,3). Glous, however, who had accompanied the land forces to Cunaxa, is found serving Tissaphernes immediately after the battle (*An.* II 4,24), and later on married a daughter of the king's favourite Tiribazus (Diod. XV 9,3), and held a number of important naval commands until his assassination some time late in the 380's.

Tamos seems to be an Egyptian name, as does Glous, though other explanations have been advanced. Whatever the nature of Glous' name, both Tamos and Glous seem to have been Persian in status. There are numerous examples of non-Persian families being granted Persian status. Metiochus, son of Miltiades, was given a house, an estate and a Persian wife by Darius, and his children were reckoned as Persian (Hdt. VI 41). Alexander the Great granted a camp-follower called Alexander twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress (Plut. *Alex.* 31,5). The best known examples are Themistocles and Demaratus, who, in return for the usual grants of revenues, were bidden to wear Persian clothes (Ath. *Deip.* I 29f-30a). It seems that all these individuals are being granted the status of Persians, which included the right, and the duty, to wear Persian dress, which presumably distinguished one of the Persian 'equals' from the subjects of the Persians, and from the Persian commoners. It is known, however, that neither the descendants of Themistocles nor of Demaratus adopted Iranian names, but retained their family naming-systems in their own languages. These examples, apart from their intrinsic interest, illustrate how cautious we have to be in using both names and nationalities given to individuals in classical sources as proof of ethnic origin.

What, therefore, are we to make of the reference in Athenaeus *Deip.* VI 256c to Glous the Carian? I suggest that this passage should be taken as an indication that Glous, ethnically Egyptian but a Persian in status, held lands in Caria. The source of Athenaeus is the *Gergithius* of Clearchus of Soli (c.340-250 B.C.) in Cyprus, who is describing the use of female flatterers in Cyprus during the time when Glous was on the island as commander of the Persian fleet (c.386-383 B.C.). It is not necessary to believe that Clearchus is using contemporary sources which reflect Achaemenid usage, though this is possible, for it would be no less strange to call Glous either an Egyptian or a Persian. The hypothesis that Glous is called a Carian because he held lands and was based in Caria, however, seems to be the only way in which the use of this ethnic can be reasonably explained.

The Revolts of Pissouthnes and Amorges. Some further evidence must be discussed, albeit inconclusively, for the sake of completeness. A Ctesian fragment preserved in Photius (*FGrH* 688 F15[53]) tells us that Pissouthnes rebelled, and that Tissaphernes, Spithradates, and Parmises were sent against him. Both Tissaphernes and Spithradates seem to have been ordered against Pissouthnes because they were based in Caria and Hellespontine Phrygia respectively (Lewis 1977, 81 n.200, 83). Of Parmises nothing else is known, but it is possible that he also held lands in Lower Asia, though it is also possible that he was a military officer of the King. The name Parmises, which occurs at Persepolis as *Parmizza* (Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1280), is certainly

Persian. Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F9[3]) mentions another Parmises, the brother of Amytys, during his account of the reign of Cyrus the Great. Lykon the Athenian, commanding Pissouthnes' mercenaries, betrayed him, whereupon Tissaphernes was given Pissouthnes' satrapy (of Sardis) while Lykon received 'cities and lands' for his betrayal. We do not know where these cities and lands lay, but it is certainly possible that they were taken from Pissouthnes' estates in Lower Asia.

Pissouthnes had a bastard son called Amorges, who is later found in revolt from the King in Caria (Thuc. VIII 5,5), based, it seems, at Iasos (VIII 28). One presumes that Amorges is found operating in Caria only because of its easy access to the sea and to Athenian support. Amorges is not a particularly common name, though Justi (1895, s.v) lists two kings of the Saka with this name. Otherwise the name only seems to occur in Herodotus (V 121), who mentions a Persian general called Amorges who died at the hands of the Carians in an ambush at Pedasos. There seems to be no connection between the two. Thucydides (I 115,4) tells us that Pissouthnes was the son of one Hystaspes, who is probably to be identified with Hystaspes son of Darius I, or perhaps a second Hystaspes the son of Xerxes (Lewis 1977, 55). Thus the Carian connections of the name Amorges seem to be purely coincidental.

Thus we can find evidence for a number of 'Persian' families holding cities or lands in Caria at various periods. We shall now turn to examine the evidence for areas of Persian 'noble settlement'.

The Maeander valley

Magnesia on the Maeander. The border between Lydia and Caria seems to have been the River Maeander (Xen.*Hell.* III 2,14), though the Maeander valley itself was sometimes considered to belong to Caria too (Magie 1950, 783 n.5). In this article I shall treat the Maeander valley as part of the satrapy of Caria.

Although Oroites was normally resident at Sardis, Herodotus (III 122) tells us that Oroites happened to be resident (οἰκημένῃ) at Magnesia on the Maeander during his negotiations with Polycrates of Samos. Even as early as the times of Oroites, therefore, it is possible that there was some degree of Persian presence in Magnesia. There is little evidence, however, that the Iranian impact on the city was ever more than superficial.

One Mithridates son of Iazemis later appears as a citizen of Magnesia, named in an inscription dating to the first century B.C. Robert (1963, 433-447) has demonstrated that occurrences of the name Iazemis seem to be concentrated in Cappadocia, and he suggests (1963, 440) that Mithridates or his father Iazemis had come from Cappadocia to Magnesia and, once established there, had been awarded citizenship. Robert further points out that this grant of citizenship took place during a period when contacts between cities such as Magnesia and the Cappadocian royal family were close. He cites a number of statues of Cappadocian monarchs erected in these cities, presumably to commemorate acts of benefaction, or of honorific inscriptions, or of building projects.

Thus it cannot be argued that Mithridates son of Iazemis, for one, is a descendant of an Iranian family settled in Lower Asia in the Achaemenid period. Furthermore, a number of other Iranian names found elsewhere in Lower Asia are ones common in Cappadocia. It might be possible to connect these with the Magnesian example, and to suggest that a number of Cappadocian families may have established themselves in the cities of Lower Asia in the first century B.C., thanks to contacts with the Cappadocian kingdom.

The Maeander Valley. Following the Ionian revolt Herodotus (VI 20) tells us that the Persians themselves retained the *chora* of Miletus around the city and the plain, while the mountainous parts they gave to the Carians of Pedasos to occupy. This passage seems to indicate that the *chora* of Miletus in the Maeander valley was given to Persian noble families to settle. Unfortunately we do not know how far up the Maeander valley the *chora* of Miletus had extended, but the main area of Persian settlement in the valley may have been quite a long way from the sea. Xenophon (*Hell.* III 2,15) describes the Lacedaemonian army under Agesilaus marching along the Maeander valley near the sea using the tops of burial mounds and towers (μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις) to observe the enemy. These *tyrseis* need not have belonged to Persian land-holders, but could have belonged to native Lydian families. One might compare the very fragmentary account of a later stage of the 395 campaign preserved in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (12 [7].4) when Agesilaos turns back from his march towards Kelainai in Greater Phrygia, and returns back down the Maeandrian Plain "... *inhabited by Lydians* ..." to the sea. The exact contents of this passage are beyond all reasonable chance of restoration, but I believe it should be taken as an indication that at least some of the plain of the Maeander was inhabited by Lydians. Perhaps the passage may also have contained some reference to lands held by the Persians which were ravaged.

Tralles. Xenophon (*Ages.*1,15, *Hell.* III 2,12, III 4,12) indicates that during the campaign of 395 Tissaphernes' main fear was that Agesilaus intended to march up the Maeander valley to ravage the *oikos* of Tissaphernes himself. Therefore the Persian forces were concentrated in the Maeander valley. At one stage the barbarians withdraw towards Tralles (*Hell.* III 2,19), and I think it is probable that the estates of Tissaphernes, and presumably of other Persian land-holders too, may have lain in the vicinity of that city.

Tralles itself seems to have been a garrisoned town. Xenophon (*An.* I 4,8) tells us that Cyrus the Younger held the wives and children of his generals Xenias and Pasion ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα during the period of his march towards the interior.

A couple of Iranian names have survived in later documents of Tralles. Mandanas occurs as a woman's name at Tralles (Robert 1963, 217-8). Again it is uncertain whether this occurrence can be used as evidence for the survival of a Persian family in the city, but perhaps it could be used to show that the use of Persian names had spread to the inhabitants of Tralles. A second name is of even less value. A hellenistic inscription listing mercenaries has been recovered from Tralles which includes one Blostos, son of Argantabatos, a Per[sian] (Robert 1936, 97). Even if the restoration of the ethnic is correct, there is no guarantee that Blostos was recruited from the vicinity of Tralles, rather than from elsewhere in the Seleucid empire. Launey (1949-50, 567 n.1) has suggested that the garrison to which Blostos belonged would have been Attalid rather than Seleucid.

The Family of Ariaramnes and Bagadates at Amyzon. Much firmer evidence of Persian settlement during the Achaemenid period comes from the temple of Artemis at Amyzon (Robert 1953 403-415; 1983a, 115ff.). From epigraphic evidence we learn that one Bagadates son of Ariaramnes had been awarded civic rights of Amyzon in 320, and, following an inquiry to the Pythian oracle, Bagadates became the *neokoros* (temple-warden) of Artemis. During the reign of Antiochus III the *neokoros* was a later Ariaramnes from the same family. It is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with a wealthy Persian family settled in the area of Amyzon in Achaemenid times, which survives at least into the hellenistic period. It is probable that the family already had an interest in the cult at Amyzon during the Achaemenid period, as Artemis was already becoming identified with Anahita in the western provinces of the empire. We might not be far wrong in thinking of the family of Bagadates as a Persian 'ducal' family: they must, after all, have been a family of some considerable wealth. Amyzon is small and desolate (cf. Hornblower 1982, 278), therefore it seems preferable to think of the family of Bagadates as being settled in the general area of Amyzon, rather than as governors of the city, residing in Amyzon itself. Tralles lies on the north side of the Maeander opposite a point where the Marsyas, a tributary of the Maeander, enters the main river from the south. Amyzon lies only a little way up the valley of the next major tributary entering the Maeander from the south, as one goes down the valley to the sea. It is at least possible that Bagadates' estates lay in the Maeander valley itself.

It might be worthwhile, therefore, to investigate any earlier occurrences of the names Ariaramnes and Bagadates associated with Lower Asia, in order to establish whether there may be some family connection. I should stress that I undertake this inquiry for the sake of complete discussion, not because I believe that the evidence is substantial enough to allow us to establish any such family link with anything approaching certainty.

The Name Ariaramnes. First it is necessary to mention a spurious Ariaramnes who has entered the secondary literature. The Xanthos stele inscription (Metzger *et al.* 1979, 44) deals with events of the last three decades of the fifth century. Though the precise meaning of the Lycian inscription is not clear, it seems to mention Amorges (*Humrkhkha*) and Tissaphernes (*Kizzaprñna*) and so the events mentioned presumably include the suppression of the revolt of Amorges. One *Eriyamãna* is also mentioned. This name is sometimes interpreted as Ariaramnes in earlier literature (e.g. Olmstead 1948, 360), but it is now clear that the name should correctly be interpreted as Ariamanes (Schmitt 1982b, 379). No earlier bearer of the name Ariaramnes can be firmly associated with Lower Asia with absolute certainty, although Ariaramnes does not seem to be a particularly rare name. The most illustrious bearer of the name was Darius' great-grandfather (Hdt. VII 11). Ctesias (*FGrH* 688, F13[20]) tells us that Darius sent a second Ariaramnes, satrap of Cappadocia, against the Scythians with a naval expedition. Another Ariaramnes, a member of the Ariarathid dynasty, ruled Cappadocia in the middle of the third century B.C. The Ariarathid dynasty rose from the ethnically Persian nobility settled in Cappadocia, and it is possible that there may have been some distant family link between the Ariarathids of Cappadocia, and the Ariaramnids of Lower Asia. This is, of course, purely speculative. The only person bearing the name known to be active in Lower Asia is another Ariaramnes, a Persian, who was present at Salamis at the side of Xerxes, and who proved to be "a friend" when the Phoenicians accused the Ionians of treachery during the battle (Hdt. VIII 90). His support for the Ionians could perhaps be taken as an indication that he had contacts with them. If this were the case we might suggest that this Ariaramnes was the ancestor of the dynasty we later find established near Amyzon. Justi (1895, s.v.) identifies this Ariaramnes with the Ctesian Ariaramnes, who was satrap of the Cappadocians some thirty-five years earlier, but this is not very likely. How & Wells (1912, ad.loc.) suggest that the Ariaramnes at Salamis "was probably an Achaemenid, since he bore the same name as the great-grandfather of Darius, and such royal names were not taken by ordinary Persians". This is not, however, certain.

The Name Gadatas. Neither is any person in Lower Asia known bearing the name Bagadates prior to the Amyzon inscription under discussion. It might, however, be worth mentioning the famous letter from Darius I to Gadatas, which says that Gadatas is cultivating the king's land, and transplanting fruit-trees from beyond the Euphrates in Asia, but that he is wrongfully demanding tribute from the gardeners sacred to Apollo, and commanding them to dig profane land (trans. Fornara 1977, nr.35). It is generally assumed that the sacred gardeners are connected with the Magnesian cult of the *dendrophoroi* (Robert 1977, 84-88), which might place Gadatas in the region of the Maeander valley. The status of Gadatas is, however, quite unknown: as is the date, which could lie anywhere within the years 521 and 486 (cf. Wiesehöfer 1987, 396-8). The inscription is generally placed immediately after the Ionian Revolt, which could make the king's reference to 'my land' specific; referring to the land confiscated from Miletus, but there are many other possibilities.

Gadatas is the name Xenophon gives to a 'Syrian' minor king (VIII 3,24) subject to Babylon in his *Cyropaedia.* The name is, however, Iranian (Mayrhofer 1973, 8.697), **Gadata*, and is an abbreviation of **Bagadata*, or Bagadates. It is possible, though no more than that, that Gadatas could be an ancestor of the later Bagadatas attested at Amyzon, using an abbreviated form of the family name. This is, however, most uncertain, and is mentioned only as a possibility.

For the sake of completeness one should also mention a second person bearing the name Gadatas. Gadatas and Kteson are mentioned as having received six drachmas, in a list of expenditures by the *hieropoioi* of Apollo at Delos dating to 275 B.C. (*IG* xi.2.199 A 72), for transporting a corpse from the holy island. This Gadatas would have been a person of low social status, and it is safe to presume that the illustrious noble name of Gadatas has been adopted spuriously. This inscription indicates the dangers inherent in associating names found in inscriptions. In most cases little more than the name will be given in the inscription, and no details of the status of the bearer can be determined. Finally one Magedates, which is a further Greek form of the Iranian **Bagadata*, is attested as being the father of one Diophantes, who was a *theoros* of Chios at Samothrace in the second century B.C. One presumes there is no connection with the dynasty of Ariaramnes and Bagadates here either.

Inland Caria

Labraunda. Labraunda, lying inland up a tributary of the Marsyas between Amyzon and Stratonikeia, has produced inscriptions mentioning the names Phrathethnes (Hornblower 1982, 140, 351-2) and Ariaramnes son of Mausollus (Hornblower 1982, 40 n.28). Given that the site housed an important sanctuary significant throughout the whole of Caria, there is no particular reason to think that the individuals named in these two inscriptions were permanently based in the town.

The second inscription is of considerable interest. There is no reason to think that the Mausollus mentioned here is the famous Carian dynast of that name (Hornblower 1982, 40 n.28), but one presumes that the family is noble. The alternation between Carian and Iranian names in the same family points to some form of acculturation, and could either be due to intermarriage, or to the adoption of names for 'political' reasons (Hornblower 1982, 350). Perhaps, given that the Persian name is Ariaramnes, it is possible to postulate intermarriage with the family of Bagadates and Ariaramnes attested at Amyzon. Had the motive for the adoption of an Iranian name been 'political', one might have expected some other name to be adopted, such as the name of a local satrap or general, rather than a family name of some Persian neighbours.

Iranization at Halicarnassus. In this context one might compare the use of the name Megabates in a native family at Halicarnassus. Hornblower (1982, 26) links a pair of inscriptions bearing this name to demonstrate three generations of one family using the Carian name Aphyasis, the Persian name Megabates, and the Greek name Letodorus in succession. The first inscription (*Syll.*^{3} 45 = Meiggs & Lewis 1969, nr.32, vs.14) is a law of Halicarnassus, dating to c.465-450 B.C., and naming Megabates son of Aphyasis as one of the board of *mnamones* of Salmakis, probably a Carian settlement subsequently merged with Halicarnassus. The second (*Syll.*^{3} 46 vs.36), a Halicarnassian inscription dating to the last decades of the fifth century, mentions one Letodorus son of Megabates.

As Hornblower points out, the reason for this 'Iranization' could equally well be intermarriage or some form of political gesture. In contrast to the case of Ariaramnes, the adoption of the name Megabates could well be 'political', if the name refers to the famous Megabates, admiral just before the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. V 32). On the other hand there might well have been several less illustrious bearers of the name among the ranks of the local Persian nobility, such as the Megabates son of Spithradates mentioned by Plutarch (*Ages.* 11,2), so intermarriage should not be ruled out completely either.

Stratonikeia. Stratonikeia, a Seleucid foundation lying some way further up the valley of the Marsyas, has furnished an inscription mentioning a Mithrodates and a Mithres (Robert 1963, 82). The difficulty of using either of these names as evidence for the survival of a Persian presence in the Achaemenid period has already been discussed.

Conclusion.

Perhaps there are sufficient grounds for believing, taking all these pieces of evidence together, that the region of the Maeander around Tralles was an area of considerable Persian settlement, and included the family *oikos* of Tissaphernes. When Tissaphernes became governor of the whole of Lower

Asia after the death of Cyrus the Younger, he also received the estates of Cyrus in the region of Sardis, but his earlier residence seems to have been Tralles. It is possible that Tralles was the seat of the Carian satrapy at this time.

The family of Bagadates and Ariaramnes may also have been based in the Maeander valley, as Camisares and Glous may have been. It is important to remember, however, that the last two at least seem to have been based in Caria at different times. Therefore it is not necessary to find space for estates for all these families in the Maeander valley at the same time, for the same estates could have changed ownership a number of times. It seems reasonable to suggest that the creation of these estates was made possible by the confiscation of the *chora* of Miletus after the Ionian revolt, and to suggest further that the Persian noble settlement of the region took place only at this date.

The other evidence, from inland Caria, is so slight, so scattered, and so inconclusive, however, that it seems unlikely that there was ever any large-scale Persian presence in the area.

Lycia

It might be convenient to deal with the evidence for Lycia at this point. Lycia, it seems, was not administered as a separate satrapy by the Achaemenids. Rather it is generally assumed that the various dynastic families who held power in the different Lycian communities were given a fairly free hand, so long as they rendered tribute, under the authority of one of the neighbouring satraps. It is probable that these arrangements were modified considerably by Artaxerxes III Ochus following Lycian participation in the satrapal revolts of the mid-fourth century. Local autonomy was diminished, and it seems that the country now came under the authority of the Carian satrap.

Acculturation. This being the case one would not expect to find any evidence for Persian noble settlement or for colonization in Lycia. On the other hand the level of Iranization of the Lycian dynastic families seems to have been considerable. It is probable that the sons of the Lycian dynasts, who, in Lycian inscriptions, boast of their prowess as archers and horsemen in a familiar Persian manner (cf. Herrenschmidt 1985, 125-136), were educated at Persian satrapal or royal courts.

The onomastic evidence.

Several of the dynasts themselves adopted Iranian names. Bryce (1986, 161-3) gives a list of persons with Persian names and probably living in Lycia, mostly of dynasts, appearing in Lycian inscriptions or coin-devices. The reasons why Lycian dynasts adopted Persian names is uncertain. Many may have had blood-links with Persian families, but, as Bryce points out, we cannot assume this as a matter of course, and in some cases it is possible that Persian names, such as Harpagos, were adopted as a political gesture towards Persian overlords. We might compare the Greek name Pericles, which seems to have been adopted by a dynastic family for similar reasons (Bryce 1986, 167). Nevertheless two quite separate pieces of evidence suggest that intermarriage between the noble (not necessarily dynastic) families of Lycia and Persian noble families settled in Lower Asia may have been quite common.

Artapates the Lycian. Launey (1949-50, I 464, 571) discusses a most interesting family settled in Ptolemaic Egypt, who, though describing themselves as Lycian, used alternating Greek personal names, together with the Iranian name Artapates. Various generations included priests and ambassadors, and the family was obviously counted among the higher echelons of Ptolemaic society (cf. also Robert 1966, 31). A phiale dedicated at Delos by one Artapates, mentioned in a list of offerings dated to 279, and therefore dedicated between 342 and 279, was probably donated by a member of this family (Baslez 1985, 142). Launey suggests the family came to Egypt from Lycia, but was descended from Persians previously settled in the country, "d'une colonie perse de Lycie". Perhaps it is more realistic to suggest that the family was a Lycian noble family, which had intermarried with the Persian nobility, and for this reason had introduced the name Artapates into its family naming traditions. The name Artapates has been discussed by Schmitt (1978, 34, n.39).

Whilst discussing the evidence for the family of Glous the Carian, which seems to have retained its Egyptian naming-practices despite being awarded Persian status, we discussed the evidence for a number of Greek noble families which, though awarded Persian status and given lands in the empire and Persian dress, retained their own family naming-systems. The case of the family of Artapates is obviously different, for here Persian names are being introduced into the family naming-system. The alternation of Iranian and non-Iranian names within the same family has parallels in the literary evidence. In 322 Craterus repudiated his Persian wife, Amastris, the daughter of Oxyathres brother of Darius III, in order to marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater. Amastris then married Dionysius, son of Clearchus, tyrant of Herakleia. Their three children were called Clearchus, Oxathres, and Amastris (Briant 1985a, 172). In this case Persian names are being introduced into a family naming-system by intermarriage. I suggest that the Persian name Artapates had also been introduced into this Lycian noble family through intermarriage. If the name Artapates had only been adopted as a political gesture, it is unlikely that the name would have become so established as to recur repeatedly in later generations of the family.

Xenophon gives a detailed account of the trial of Orontas, who had held the citadel of Sardis against Cyrus the Younger, and who, after having been pardoned by the prince, later attempted to desert to Artaxerxes. Following his condemnation Orontas is led to the tent of Artapates, described (*An.* I 6,11) as "one of the most faithful *skeptouchoi* of Cyrus". Of course it is always possible that Artapates had come down to Lower Asia with Cyrus, but it is more probable that he was from a family already settled there, as most of the Persians involved in the revolt seem to have been. Later on Xenophon recounts (*An.* I 8,28-9) that at Cunaxa, upon seeing the dead body of Cyrus, Artapates threw his arms about the corpse, and, according to one account, was ordered to be slain by Artaxerxes, or, following another, killed himself with his own golden *akinakes*, "for he had a golden one; and he also wore a necklace and bracelets and the other things (of gold), as do the best of the Persians, for he had been honoured by Cyrus on account of his good-will and fidelity".

The name cannot be traced further forward or back in the literary sources dealing with Lower Asia, so it is not possible to build up a detailed family tree. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to suggest that the name Artapates may have been introduced into Lycia by intermarriage between a Lycian noble family and the Persian family of Artapates. The fact that the Artapates of this passage, though noble and honoured by Cyrus on account of his fidelity, is not a member of the highest political echelon, also argues against the adoption of the name as a political gesture. Had the Lycian family in question wished to adopt a Persian name into their family as a political gesture, one presumes it would have been more effective to adopt the name of someone of more influence.

Bernard (1964, 210 n.4) lists some 24 examples of six different Persian names found in Lycian inscriptions of the hellenistic and Roman periods, and of these no less than five are of the name Artapates, one in a variant form Artopates. I think it is reasonable to suppose that the name Artapates was introduced into the *corpus* of popular Lycian names through the agency of this one family. This does not mean, of course, that all the Lycian bearers of this name listed by Bernard need belong to the same family. Once the name had become popular in one influential family, it could have spread further to others of lesser significance through intermarriage.

We may have an example of a 'secondary' spread of the name in the Lycian city of Rhodiapolis. Two inscriptions (*TAM* II.ii.927 & 931), of imperial date, record two different individuals of Rhodiapolis bearing the name Artapates, and it would be reasonable to conclude that they both belong to the same family. It is unlikely that the principal branch of the Lycian Artapates family would have been established in this small city, which only rose to any significance after the Achaemenid period. It seems more likely, therefore, that the name was passed on to the Rhodiapolitan family through intermarriage with the principal Artapates dynasty, and that the Rhodiapolitan family then adopted the name and preserved it into the imperial period. Elsewhere in Lycia we find the name at Tlos, Xanthos, and Kyaneae. The original dynasty could have been based at any of these three cities (or indeed elsewhere): Tlos and Xanthos were especially important political centres during the Achaemenid period. The name Artapates also occurs in the adjacent Tabai region, and the possible significance of this will be discussed below.

Pharnouches the Lydian. Alexander's army, during the assault on the Persian Gates, captured a Lycian. Our sources tell us that he had a Lycian father and a Persian mother, that he spoke Persian and Greek (as well as Lycian presumably). He had been transported to Persia some years ago as a captive, and had been set to work herding goats in the mountains there (Diod. XVII 68,5; Q.C. V 4,4, 10-11; Plut. *Alex.* 37,1). The Lycian helped the Macedonians march round the defences of the Persian Gates. Arrian (*Anab.* IV 3,7) tells us that during the Sogdian campaign a detachment of troops was put under the command of "Pharnouches the interpreter, a Lycian by birth", who must have been of reasonably high birth, one assumes, to be put in such a position of command. If these passages all refer to the same individual, which is the opinion of Bryce (1986, 169), then Pharnouches must have been an important person in Lycia. We may presume that he was deported following the re-absorption of Lycia into the empire. Here we have a reasonably clear example of an Anatolian nobleman who has acquired his Persian name through intermarriage with the Persian nobility settled in Lower Asia.

The name Pharnouches (Φαρνούχης) must be distinguished from Pharnakes, which name Arrian uses elsewhere (I 16,3). The name appears in the Persepolis fortification tablets as *Parnukka* (Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1286-7), whereas Pharnakes appears as *Parnaka* (8.1282). The name is extensively discussed by R.Schmitt (1978, 45-7) in connection with one Pharnouchos whom Aeschylus mentions in the *Persae* among the fallen at Salamis. A second holder of the name Pharnouches is mentioned by Herodotus (VII 88,1-2). Finally Arrian (*Ind.* 18,8) mentions that Alexander appointed the Persian Bagoas son of Pharnouches a trierarch in Nearchus' fleet. It is possible that Pharnouches the Lycian was related to one of these three individuals, especially as the name is not common, but there is no reason to associate his family with any one in particular.

It may be presumed that Pharnouches died along with his command in the massacre suffered at the Polytimetus river, and with his death, it seems, the family line may well have ended. The family had probably been deported from Lycia *en masse* in the first place, and Pharnouches' death prevented a re-establishment of the line back in Lycia. For this reason, it seems, the name Pharnouches is absent from Bernard's list.

The Dynast Mithropates. Like the name Pharnouches, there is no evidence for the survival of the name Mithrapates into the hellenistic period. However the name does occur, as *Miθrapata-/ Mizrppata-*, in a Lycian inscription of the Achaemenid period. This inscription seems to be referring to a Lycian dynast called Mithrapates (Schmitt 1982b, 381-2). It used to be thought that the inscription was referring to the Persian called Mitrobates (the same name as Mithrapates), who is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* I 3,12) as a representative of Pharnabazus sent to Alcibiades in 409/8. Though it is no longer possible to argue that the two individuals are the same, there is obviously some connection in the name.

The fact that Xenophon's Mitrobates appears as a representative of Pharnabazus, the Pharnakid currently holding rule in Hellespontine Phrygia, could be taken to suggest that Mitrobates was based somewhere in that satrapy. An earlier Mitrobates is mentioned by Herodotus (III 120) as the ruler in Daskyleion. It would be tempting to suggest that the two belonged to the same family, based in Hellespontine Phrygia. This is not impossible, but considerable difficulties are caused by the fact that Mitrobates, along with his son Kranaspes, was put to death at Sardis by Oroites (Hdt. III 126). After the deposition of Oroites the rule of Hellespontine Phrygia was passed on to the Pharnakid dynasty. Consequently it would seem that the only members of Mitrobates' family who survived were minors or were otherwise unfitted for rule. Nevertheless it is possible that some remnant of the family, perhaps a cadet branch if not the main dynasty, stayed on in estates in Hellespontine Phrygia. It is quite possible that the name Mithrapates had been adopted by a Lycian family as a 'political gesture' to an overlord, but, given the evidence for the names Artapates and Pharnouches, I believe it is more probable that the name was acquired through intermarriage. It might be reasonable to assume that the name Mithrapates does not survive into the hellenistic period because the line came to an end, as seems to be the case with the name Pharnouches. It might be possible to postulate that this may have been caused by political events in Lycia during the fourth century. One should note, however, an inscription from the Dipylon gate in Athens (*IG*^{2} ii.4689), dating to the early first century B.C., recording a dedication to Artemis in her sanctuary in the Kerameikos by one Mithrobates. The letters Μιτροβάτα are also found on a grave stele from Kasos (*SGDI* 4327 g), one of the islands of the Rhodian empire.

Pharnakes. Bernard (1964, 210 n.7) lists some nine Lycian examples of the name Pharnakes, about a third of the evidence, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there must be some significance in this concentration. The name Pharnakes is quite widely spread in the West during the hellenistic and imperial periods. This popularity is probably to be explained by the fact that the name is a 'royal' name used by the Pontic royal house (Baslez 1985, 153).

It is possible, therefore, that many of those who bear this name are from families originally of servile origin. However, although no examples of the name Pharnakes are attested in Lycia during the Achaemenid period itself, the heavy concentration of this name in Lycia perhaps indicates that, like the name Artapates, Pharnakes had become established as a Lycian family-name at a comparatively early date.

Pharnakes is also one of the family-names of the Pharnakid dynasty who held the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia on a more or less hereditary basis (Lewis 1977, 52). The last recorded individual of this family to have held the name Pharnakes was the satrap who died c.413. The name Pharnakes is not so uncommon as to rule out intermarriage with some other family in Achaemenid Anatolia, but it is quite possible that the name was introduced into Lycia through intermarriage between a Lycian noble or dynastic family and the Persian Pharnakids.

Once the name Pharnakes had been introduced, perhaps through a single family, it could have spread to others. The evidence for such a spread is not very clear, for the name is very widely spread throughout Lycia. Bernard records examples at Telmessos, Sidyma, Xanthos, Sura, Olympos and Levissi. It seems probable that the name first became established in a single Lycian family at one of the principal cities of the country, and only spread further subsequently through intermarriage.

Other Family Names. Bernard (1964, 210) lists a further four names: Arsames with five examples (no less than four coming from Sidyma), Arsakes with three examples (two from Tlos), Datames with one example from Arsada, and Mithrodates also with one example from Sidyma. The fact that both the names Arsames and Arsakes are found in concentrations at Sidyma and Tlos respectively, suggests that the names were used within the naming-systems of individual families based in those cities.

As with the name Pharnakes, all these names, with the exception of Mithrodates, could be linked to Persian families based in Lower Asia known from the literary record. As with the name Pharnakes, however, it should be stressed that none of these names is so uncommon as to rule out other possibilities. Nevertheless the cumulative evidence is, I think, significant.

The later occurrences of the name Arsames can perhaps be connected with the Lycian of that name attested during the Achaemenid period (cf. Bryce 1986, 161 n.2). This Arsames seems to have been one of a number of minor Lycian despots based in western Lycia (Cook 1983, 177), and we can perhaps use the onomastic evidence to suggest that the family was once based in Sidyma, and continued to reside there and to use the name after the Achaemenid period. Furthermore the initial adoption of the name into Lycia could perhaps be connected with the Arsames attested in Polyaenus as satrap of Greater Phrygia some time after the 450's (see below). It seems probable that Arsames was displaced as satrap of Greater Phrygia following his revolt, perhaps by Tithraustes, but this does not prevent the family of Arsames from having held lands in Phrygia at an earlier date, or the adoption of the name into Lycia during the brief period of his office.

The name Arsakes is not attested in Lycia during the Achaemenid period. Nevertheless, given the other evidence mentioned above, it is possible that the name passed into Lycian noble circles at this time. A further possibility is that there could be some connection with the Persian Arsakes mentioned by Thucydides (VIII 108,4) as hyparch of Tissaphernes at Antandrus in Aeolis in 411. The fact that Arsakes is termed a hyparch of Tissaphernes suggests that he may have held lands in those parts of Lower Asia currently within the jurisdiction of Tissaphernes, rather than being an officer sent down by the King (cf. Cook 1983:178). Arsakes is nowhere mentioned again however, so we have no indication of where he may have been based. Nor is it possible to trace the family further forward or back in the literary sources. Two examples of the name come from Tlos, and one from Nysa.

Finally the name Datames could be connected with the Persian family of Datames and Camisares based in Caria. Bernard suggested Datamos as the name-form in the nominitive, but this has been corrected to Datames by Robert (1966, 31 n.10). Perhaps this name too was introduced into Lycia through intermarriage, this time with the family of Camisares.

The last name, Mithrodates, a variant form of Mithridates or Mithradates, cannot be connected with any particular example of this extremely common name with any certainty. But it may be of some significance that the name occurs with the same variant spelling in an inscription from Stratonikeia in Caria mentioned above.

'Historic' Names. Bernard (1964, 210 n.7) also mentions a number of other Persian names, which seem to be 'historic', that is, adopted not for any family reasons or from personal ties with an individual of that name, but purely through fanciful whim. We might compare the occasional contemporary use of the names Darius or Cyrus.

The name Dareios (Δαρῆος), which was a throne name and not a personal name anyway, is attested at Tlos (*TAM* ii.2.596). The inscription dates to the late second or early first century B.C., and records one Darius son of Herakleides. Bernard cites a second occurrence of the name Darius at Andraki, but I have been unable to locate the source. The name also appears in an epitaph at Rome of imperial date (*IG* xiv.1903) as Δαρῖος. We might compare the use of the name Cyrus by a Syrian, possibly of servile status, on a funerary altar at Rhodes (*IG* xii.1.529 - Κῦρε Σύρε), and a further parallel use of the name Xerxes as a personal name discussed by Robert (1960, 242).

It is possible that both Lycians called Darius were from families originally of servile status.

Bernard also draws attention to Orontes the leader of the Lycians in the Aeneid (1,113, 6,334). This name has no known parallels in Lycian contexts, so one presumes that Virgil has simply added an 'oriental' name at ramdom.

The Lycian Name Mede. The name Μῆδος is also listed as 'historic' by Bernard, but this name is somewhat more difficult to interpret. The name is not otherwise found as an Iranian personal name, though it is occasionally used as a simple eponym for the Medians, for example by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 765, discussed by Schmitt 1978, 19, 56). Therefore there is no clear evidence that *Mede* was an Iranian personal name. In the Greek world Medos appears as a slave-name, and is generally interpreted as being an ethnic nick-name (Baslez 1985, 147) meaning 'Mede'. In 408/7 one Medos of Melite, and perhaps a second person of the same name, was employed on construction work on the Erechteum in Athens (*IG*³ i.476. vs. 15-16, 133). Another Medos is mentioned in an affranchisement decree from Delphi dating to the period 170-157/6 B.C.(*SGDI* 1822), and a Meda, together with her sons Sosibios and Sosos are mentioned in a second Delphian affranchisement decree for the period 156-1 B.C. (*SGDI* 1708). Finally Μήδειος is the name given to a Syrian merchant by Alciphron (4.11.2), in a letter set in Athens in the late fourth century.

In Lycia Μῆδος occurs in a Greek inscription (*TAM* II.ii.716), presumably of hellenistic date, on an altar from Tschökek-Assar, not far from the river Xanthos, in a family inscription which also mentions the names Hermaios, Kbamoas, Artemeis and Armasta. Therefore the name occurs within a family given to using predominantly indigenous forms. Furthermore there can be little doubt that the inscription was left by a free family. Μῆδος seems to be a hellenized form of the name Mede which occurs in a Lycian epichoric inscription from Xanthos (*TL* 37 = Bryce 1986, 75) as the name of a tomb-owner. The fact that the name occurs in the Achaemenid period as the name of a tomb-owner indicates that the individual so-named was based in Lycia, and was therefore a Lycian. Further the inscription tells us that the tomb was built by *Mede* for himself and his brother Embronos (*Hm̃prãma*). The name of the brother of *Mede*, at least, is clearly indigenous. It is highly unlikely, given the context, that *Mede* was a slave or a freedman either. Laroche (1974, 125-7) notes that no Anatolian prototypes are known to him, though Zgusta (1964, 307) lists *Mede*, together with *Medemudi*, also from Lycia, as Anatolian personal names.

The name is also found, seemingly, in another epichoric inscription (*TL* 29) in the formula *arttum̃para medese*. In this second case the word *medese* is usually interpreted as an ethnic, giving 'Artembares the Mede' (Schmitt

1982b, 375-6). Bryce (1986, 161 n.79), however, notes that *mede* recurs without *arttum̃para* elsewhere in the same inscription, and suggests that the *se* element might be an enclitic 'and': giving a meaning 'Artembares and Mede', though he concedes that there is no other clear evidence for the use of the *-se* enclitically in Lycian. Even if this suggestion is wrong, and *medese* is an ethnic after all, Bryce notes that there "is certainly no difficulty in accepting that an ethnic could sometimes be used as a personal name".

Bryce evidently considers that the personal name *Mede* is Iranian, as he lists it as such, and has the basic meaning of 'Mede'. It may be more satisfactory to regard *Mede* as a specifically Lycian personal name, of unknown meaning, which survived in its hellenized form as Μῆδος, and to regard any resemblance with either the Greek slave-name or the ethnic 'Mede' as purely coincidental. It is surely improbable that a free Lycian would adopt the name 'Mede' as a personal name. This does not, of course, entail that *medese* and *mede* might not be used in the second epichoric inscription with this meaning. Thus I suggest that Μῆδος is a Lycian name, and not Iranian.

Conclusions. The evidence from Lycia seems to point towards acculturation, above all in the form of intermarriage, as the most probable explanation for the survival of Persian names into the hellenistic and Roman periods, rather than any form of settlement. In fact I consider it probable that all the examples discussed above were introduced into Lycian naming-systems purely through intermarriage.

Other possibilities should not be discounted however. The evidence has been discussed most recently by Bryce (1986, 158-171), who suggests (1986, 168) that the Persian names may have been introduced by a small influx of Persian administrators in the wake of the great satrapal revolt, or even (1986, 171) by new settlers in the Hellenistic period. Bernard (1964, 209-11) has suggested that the influx may have come earlier, upon the resettlement of Xanthos following the destruction of the fifth century, but Bryce's dating seems more probable. In no case, however, is there any evidence of Persian noble settlement such as occurs elsewhere in Lower Asia.

Achaemenid military colonization in Lycia

In addition to the onomastic evidence for Persian influence on Lycia, which should reflect either acculturation or noble settlement, there is also limited evidence for a single Achaemenid military colony on the borders of Lycia.

The Village of the Kardakes. A letter of 181 B.C. from King Eumenes II to Artemidorus, the Attalid governor of the region of Telmessus in Lycia, has been preserved in an inscription (Segre 1938, 190-207; translation Austin

1981, nr.202). This inscription has, in my opinion, been subject to considerable misinterpretation. It is a reply to a petition submitted by 'The Village of the Kardakes' that they might be temporarily relieved of paying poll-tax (*syntaxis*), and might re-build their fort. The Kardakes are barbarian mercenary troops, first mentioned by Nepos (XIV 8,2) as participating in the events of 367 B.C., who fought not only in Achaemenid armies, but later on in the Seleucid army too.

It is generally assumed that the village was settled by Antiochus III following his reconquest of the area from the local dynast Ptolemy son of Lysimachus (Cohen 1978, 13), but the inscription mentions that the community had bought a tract of land from Ptolemy, so the settlement must have been established before the Seleucid reconquest. Further, it was normal Attalid practice to bring the Seleucid military *katoikoi* (military settlers) in the lands they acquired from the Seleucid empire into the Attalid military system. Thus most of these communities remained liable for military service, but in return they were exempted from paying poll-tax. Yet the Kardakes in the inscription pay the poll-tax (cf. Rostovtzeff 1941, 648), so they are unlikely to have performed military service, and it is probable that the village was not a Seleucid military foundation at all. In fact it is much more probable that the village is an Achaemenid foundation, as has been suggested (Launey 1949-50, 486 n. 4; Bar-Kochva 1976, 216-7 n. 27).

I suggest that the 'Village of the Kardakes', together with its fort is, in fact, an Achaemenid foundation, and is connected with the reorganization of Lycia, and its closer integration within the empire, carried out by Artaxerxes III Ochus, and that the foundation should date to around the 340's. The land used to establish the settlement may have been confiscated from some Lycian dynast or other, and the establishment of the colony also served a strategic purpose in preventing further trouble in Lycia.

I would also like to suggest that the Lydian community of 'The Maibozanoi' was another military colony of Kardakes established at roughly the same date. Although I have not completed detailed research on the subject yet, it seems that this community should be located in the Achaemenid mustering-ground in the plain of Castolus (modern Gülde) which is also the centre of distribution of inscriptions to the cult of Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou, which, I believe, was brought into the area by the Maibozanoi. This parallel example of the coincidence of Achaemenid cult and Achaemenid military colonization may possibly enable us to locate 'The Village of the Kardakes'.

The Plain of Karayük. Robert (1978b, 277-286) has published a most interesting inscription from the town of Açipayam in the plain of Karayük. It is a funerary inscription enjoining "the gods of the Greeks and the Persians" (Θεοὶ Ἑλλή<ι>νων καὶ Περσῶν) to destroy anyone who damages the tomb of the deceased.

The reference in the inscription to "the gods of the Greeks and Persians" seems to be a general one, rather than to any specific cult. We might compare Strabo (XII 3,37), who tells us that in the early times the kings governed Zela in Cappadocia as "a sanctuary of the Persian gods" (ἱερὸν ... τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν) rather than as a city, but elsewhere he (XI 8,4) is more specific, and tells us that the sanctuary was sacred to Anaïtis and "the gods who share her altar, Omanes and Anadates, Persian deities" (καὶ τῶν συμβώμων θεῶν ἱερὸν ..., Ὠμανοῦ καὶ Ἀναδάτου, Περσικῶν δαιμόνων). Therefore Strabo seems to be using the term 'the Persian gods' only in a general descriptive way, rather than as a title for a specific cult. It is common for 'the gods of the Pisidians' to be invoked in maledictory inscriptions of the area, and the term 'the gods of the Greeks and Persians' seems to be used in a similar way: thus it shows that Persian gods had religious power among certain of the inhabitants of the region of the plain of Karayük, but need not imply the existence of a cult of that specific name in the region.

Robert sees the survival of reverence for the Persian gods in the area as being firm evidence for Persian colonization. In my opinion the coincidence of Achaemenid cult and Achaemenid military settlement in the Plain of Kastolus suggests that the 'Village of the Kardakes', together with the associated fort, may have lain within the plain of Karayük.

The precise area of responsibility of the Attalid governor of Telmessus is not, unfortunately, known with any precision, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that this area of the Kibyratis, and the rest of northern Lycia, may have lain within his jurisdiction. The location of a military colony in this area would make good sense, as it would control the route leading out of Lycia towards Kolossai in Phrygia, which may have been a major area of Persian noble settlement.

The Kibyratis and Kabalia. In the context of 'The Village of the Kardakes' one should perhaps note the possible survival of a few 'Iranian' names in the surrounding area of the Kibyratis and adjacent Kabalia. First an inscription of Kibyra (*IGR* IV, 913) mentions that one Mithres son of Eu[bios?] had been honoured by the community. As noted above however, not too much significance should be placed on the single occurrence of the Greek name Mithres.

A false 'Iranian' name Maikianes has also been recovered from Kibyra. It has been suggested (Anderson 1898, 123) that this personal name may be connected to the *Mai-* group of Iranian personal names. These names, which seem to be concentrated in Cappadocia, will be discussed below in connection with the name Maiphernes found at Apameia. Robert (1963, 518 n.) has demonstrated that Maikianes at Kibyra is a false reading for Marcianus, as the name Maikuos at Myrina, also listed by Anderson in this group, is a false transcription for the Latin Maecius.

The name Δημ[έα]ς Βατάκου is attested (Robert 1963, 534 n.6) at Osmankalfalar, half way between Kibyra and Tyriaion, on the northern shore of the Kabalitic (or Karalitic) lake. The name Batakes is Iranian, and seems to be established, together with Attis, as a family name connected with the cult of Kybele at Pessinus (see below). It is possible that the survival of this Iranian name in Kabalia is connected with the foundation of the 'Village of the Kardakes' in adjacent Kibyratis, but it is much more probable that the name spread to the area from Pessinus, which became part of Galatia, at some date later than the Achaemenid period. The Greek name Δυμᾶς, if we may restore the name of the son of Batakes thus, rather than the Δημ[έα]ς suggested, is also common as a personal name in the northern districts of Phrygia adjacent to Galatia during the imperial period (*MAMA* ix p. lxii).

There is further evidence for contact with Galatia in the cognomen Deiotarianus, which is found at Kibyra (*IGR* IV, 906-912). This name seems to be connected in some way with the Galatian name Deiotarus, given to one of the Galatian kings, which also appears, significantly, as a family name of one of the Attis priests of Pessinus (*OGIS* 541, cf. 544 n. 2, and 495 n. 8). Kibyra would have been brought within the orbit of Galatia at the end of the hellenistic period, when the kingdom of Galatia stretched as far as Kabalia and the Milyas (Pliny *NH* 5,42,147).

For the sake of completeness, one should also mention a third inscription (Naour 1980, 65 ad 24 vs.7), dating to the second or third century A.D. (*Ib.* 43), from Tyriaion in Kabalia, preserving the damaged personal name [ca.4]αμην, which, given the irregular spacing of the engraving, could be restored to give an indigenous name such as [Απασ]αμης, or some Iranian name such as [Αρσ]αμης or [Δατ]αμης. If the name is Iranian, which is highly uncertain anyway, it might be preferable to think of a secondary spread of Arsames or Datames from Lycia in post-Achaemenid times, rather than a survival of an Iranian name in the Kabalia itself. The most obvious means of transmission, again, would be noble intermarriage. It should be stressed that the Kardakes were barbarian mercenaries of all races, not just Iranians, so one should not necessarily look for the survival of Iranian names in an area of Achaemenid military colonization.

Pisidia

At least the Achaemenid empire touched on the Kibyratis and Kabalia to some extent, and therefore some sort of case could be made out for the survival of Iranian names in these two districts from the Achaemenid period. It seems, however, that Achaemenid power never really extended to the mountains of Pisidia. Therefore, when Persian names occur in Pisidia, we must look for other explanations of their presence.

The Name Boxos. Agatharchides the Cnidian, writing on the Erythraean sea some time in the early second century B.C., reports an etymological legend that the sea received its name from Erythras, the son of Perseus. Strabo (XVI 4,20), after relating the explanation Ctesias the Cnidian gives to the origin of the name of the Erythraean sea, tells us that Agatharchides, a fellow-citizen of Ctesias, relates that he got this story from a certain Boxos, a Persian by race. Unfortunately the text of Strabo does not make it clear whether Agatharchides got the story from Boxos orally, or in written form, which one would normally assume. If the latter were the case, this could be interpreted as evidence for a Persian writing in Greek before the early second century B.C. Boxos is not otherwise known.

The ethnic Πέρσου was missing in the text: only the words τὸ γένος surviving, and was supplied by Casaubon. The ethnic is repeated shortly after in the text to qualify Erythras, and one presumes that this repetition of similar words gave rise to the scribal error. The text (as restored) runs as follows:

> Αγαθαρχίδην δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου πολίτην παρά τινος Βόξου, Πέρσου τὸ γένος ἱστορῆσαι, διότι Πέρσης τις Ἐρύθραψ,

The name appears as Βώξου or Ἐβόσσου in variant manuscript readings. The second seems corrupt, but the first could be supported by the inscription mentioned below. The variation really is of no consequence, as *-u-* sounds can be transmitted from Old Persian to Greek in a variety of ways. Even though the restoration of the ethnic 'Persian' by Casaubon is not absolutely certain, Boxos does seem to be a Persian name.

Justi (1895, 72b) lists the Boxos of the Strabo passage and a second occurrence of the name *Būxš* in a later non-Greek text. This has been connected with the Elamite *Pukša* to give an original Old Persian **Buxša*, an abbreviated form of the well-known personal name *Baga-buxša*, which becomes Megabyzos or Megabyxos in Greek. It should be noted that both in the Greek text discussed above, as well as in the inscription mentioned below, the name only occurs in the genitive. Therefore the Greek nominative form could equally well be Boxas or Boxes. There is no standard method by which Persian names were transferred into Greek, so, though the *-es* ending is the most common, in this case it might be preferable to postulate an *-os* ending, given that the name is a shortened form of 'Megabuxos'.

The name Ἀντίοχος Βώξου also occurs in a Pisidian inscription, from a find-site between Lake Eğirdir and Lake Beyşehir near the sources of the Eurymedon. A slave of Antiochus called Preimos makes a dedication to the Mother of the Mountains. The patronymic of Antiochus has not, to my knowledge, been identified as Iranian yet. Arkwright (1918, 63) thought the name might be Galatian, Zgusta (1964, 130) listed it as indigenous, and

Robert (1963, 321 n.1, with a complete list of previous literature), who gives the most extensive discussion, did not rule out Illyrian parallels.

Given the remoteness of the find-spot from any possible area of Achaemenid noble settlement or colonization (the nearest being Ganzaena in Phrygia), it seems reasonable to suppose that this Iranian name reached the west during the hellenistic period. The other family name attested by this inscription, Antiochus, has obvious Seleucid connections. I would suggest, therefore, that the ancestors of Boxus first emigrated to Lower Asia either as settlers in one the Seleucid towns of Pisidia, or as mercenaries in one of the guard-posts or military colonies established there (cf. Bevan 1902, 105-6).

Other Iranian Names. The name Artemanes is found both in a funerary inscription from Trebenna in Pisidia, and in a religious inscription from Pamphylia. Zgusta (1964, 102) thought the name was uncertain as an indigenous name, and thought it might be Iranian. Schmitt (1971, 179) suggested that the name might be identical with the more usual Artamenes. This suggestion is accepted by Mayrhofer (1973, 8.585). The association is not certain however, and there could perhaps be some connection with the indigenous Arteimas group of names; but if the name is, in fact, Iranian, its presence in Pisidia cannot be explained from Achaemenid activity there.

An example of the Iranian name Arsakes comes from north Pisidia (Sterrett 1888, 423 — *non vidi*). As the context of date, findspot, and the nature of this inscription are quite unknown to me, it is difficult to pass an informed opinion on the matter. Given, however, that the name occurs three times in Lycia, and seems to have become established there, it is perhaps possible that the name has spread to northern Pisidia from Lycia after the Achaemenid period, probably, again, by intermarriage. Other explanations are, of course, equally possible.

Greater Phrygia

Phrygian landholders. The further one goes away from the Aegean coast, the less literary evidence there is available from the classical sources, and, indeed, the less epigraphic and archaeological evidence there is available too. Thus, while we are able to estimate the levels of noble settlement there might have been in Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia and Caria from the size of the cavalry regiments raised by Pharnabazus, Cyrus the Younger and Tissaphernes, there is no comparable evidence for Greater Phrygia. However Q. Curtius (IV 12,11) mentions that regiments of Phrygians, Cataonians, Cappadocians and Syrians, presumably cavalry, fought on the wings of the Persian army at Gaugamela. At this time all the former areas would have been overrun by the Macedonian army, and so would not be available to the king for the recruitment of mercenaries. Therefore I think it is reasonable to assume that these regiments were, in fact, the usual satrapal cavalry regiments raised from Persian land-holders settled in the four satrapies named.

A number of other literary references may be used to support this contention, which, although equivocal and inconclusive individually, seem to point towards the normal pattern of noble settlement in Greater Phrygia.

Plutarch (*Cim.* 9,2-4) mentions that when Cimon captured some Persians in Sestos and Byzantium their friends and kinsmen came down from Phrygia and Lydia to ransom them. Unfortunately we are not told whether Phrygia means Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia or both. At a slightly earlier date, during the Ionian revolt, Herodotus (V 98) tells us that some of the Paeonians who had been settled in Phrygia remained where they were, but the rest moved back to the west, and as they retreated they were pursued by a large body of Persian cavalry. It is most unfortunate that we do not know where in Phrygia these Paeonians had been settled, but I think it is reasonable to presume that we are dealing with Greater Phrygia, probably in some district not too remote from the coast, and it might also be reasonable to presume that the Persian cavalry in question might have been raised from Persian land-holders settled within the satrapy. These may also have comprised an element of the Persians having *nomoi* "within the Halys" (Hdt. V 102) who come to the rescue after the sack of Sardis.

This constitutes all the evidence available in the literary sources, but given that one would expect the evidence for Phrygia to be sparse anyway, I think it is sufficient to warrant an assumption that the satrapy was subject to the same pattern of noble settlement as the other satrapies lying further west. In fact the Iranian influence on Phrygia seems to have been quite considerable.

The Family of Tithraustes. Some light is shed on Persian land-holding in Greater Phrygia by a papyrus fragment (*FGrH* 105 F4) from an unidentified Greek historical work. The fragment deals with the intervention of the Athenian general Chares on behalf of the rebel satrap Artabazus in 355/4. It mentions that Chares ravaged the *chora* of Tithraustes in Phrygia. The status of Tithraustes is uncertain. Elsewhere (Schol.Dem.4.19 = ed.Dindorf VIII, 153-4) he is called a cavalry general, so while Olmstead (1948, 428) considers him to have been satrap of Greater Phrygia, others (Hornblower 1982, 144 n.57) do not. I believe he may well have been the satrap, but this is not a matter of great importance in the context of this present discussion, for at least the passage tells us that his *chora* lay in Greater Phrygia, and so the family would have been resident there.

Olmstead calls this Tithraustes 'the Younger', so he clearly believes that he is related to the Tithraustes who was sent down to execute and replace Tissaphernes as governor of Lower Asia in 395 (Xen.*Hell.* III 4,25). Diodorus (XIV 80,7-8) tells us that the King appointed Tithraustes '*hegemon* of satraps'. I suggest that the Younger Tithraustes was the grandson of the elder. Before the elder Tithraustes was sent down by the King he held the post of *hazarapatiš*/chiliarch at court, but this would not be incompatible with Tithraustes simultaneously holding the office of satrap of Greater Phrygia. When Tithraustes arrived in Lower Asia he based himself at Kelainai (Polyaen. *Strat.* VII 16,1), which, as shall be shown below, was almost certainly the capital of Greater Phrygia. A third Tithraustes is mentioned by our sources, a bastard son of Xerxes (D.S. XI 60,5) who commanded the royal fleet in 467/6 at the Battle of the Eurymedon (Plut.*Cim.* 12,4). At this time it seems that the satrap of Greater Phrygia was one Epixyes (satrap of 'Upper Phrygia' in Plut. *Them.* 30,1) who was later succeed by an Arsames. Polyaenus (*Strat.* 7,28) relates two anecdotes concerning Arsames. In the first he tells us that Arsames captured Barce in Cyrenaica. This siege seems to belong to the 450's when Egypt, and presumably Cyrenaica with it, managed to break loose from Persian rule temporarily. Soon after both were re-subjugated. A series of satrapal revolts, principally led by Megabyzus, followed. In the second anecdote Polyaenus tells us that Arsames revolted from the king and ruled Greater Phrygia, and managed to foil a plot by his hipparch and some of his cavalry to betray him to the enemy. Some of this cavalry, incidentally, could have consisted of Persian land-holders from the satrapy. The date of this incident is uncertain, and it is always possible that Polyaenus has listed the exploits of two different individuals called Arsames in the same chapter. Nevertheless I would like to suggest that following the collapse of this revolt Tithraustes replaced Arsames as satrap of Greater Phrygia, and that the office was inherited by later generations of the same family, including the Tithraustes (II) of the 390's, who was presumably his grandson, and the Tithraustes (III) of the 350's, who may have been his grandson's grandson. Even if the first Tithraustes was not appointed satrap of Greater Phrygia in the mid-fourth century, it seems certain that the *chora* of the family lay near Kelainai. If this supposition is correct it throws some new light on the campaign of Chares, and the rather exaggerated claims made as to its success, for if Chares had, in fact, reached Kelainai and plundered the lands around it, he would have advanced further into southern Phrygia than Agesilaus managed in 395, for Agesilaus had turned back before reaching Kolossai, let alone Kelainai, the capital of the satrapy (*Hell.Oxyrh.* 12 [7].4).

Ariaios. When Tithraustes was sent down to execute and replace Tissaphernes in 395, he accomplished the capture of Tissaphernes with the aid of Ariaios. Ariaios had been a hyparch (Xen. *An.* I 8,5) and a faithful friend of Cyrus the Younger and had commanded the left wing of his army at Cunaxa. After the collapse of the revolt he had been pardoned by the king. He does not participate in the defence of lower Asia against the Lacedaemonians, and he only reappears on the scene when Tithraustes has been sent down.

The most detailed account of the capture of Tissaphernes is given by Polyaenus (*Strat.* VII 16,1) who tells us that Ariaios asked Tissaphernes to come to Kolossai in order to discuss matters relating to the war, captured him there, and then transported him to Tithraustes at Kelainai. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Ariaios resided permanently at Kolossai, where he held lands, particularly as he had been active in lower Asia when Cyrus the Younger had ruled. The fact that Tithraustes plotted with him to bring about the fall of Tissaphernes may also, perhaps, be taken as an indication that Tithraustes and Ariaios were in a 'feudal' relationship.

When Tissaphernes had been killed Tithraustes put Ariaios and Pasiphernes in charge of operations (*Hell.Oxyrh.* 19 [14].3), and Ariaios is later found at Sardis (Xen.*Hell.* IV 1,27). Pasiphernes may also have been one of the 'dukes' of Greater Phrygia under Tithraustes, in which case he could have held lands in any of the other areas of noble settlement in Phrygia, but it is equally possible that Pasiphernes was an officer of the king who had come down to lower Asia with Tithraustes.

Conclusions. Therefore there seems to be sufficient evidence in the literary sources to support a hypothesis that there were at least two areas of noble settlement in Greater Phrygia. One, around Kelainai, supported the family of Tithraustes and dependants and included the *chora* of the dynasty. A second, around Kolossai, supported the family of Ariaios. Unfortunately I have not managed to establish any family connections for Ariaios in the literary sources dealing with earlier or later periods. We will turn to examine the other evidence for Persian noble settlement in the Kolossai region.

The Kolossai region. Xenophon (*An.* I 2,6) described Kolossai as an inhabited (οἰκουμένη) city of Phrygia, prosperous and large. There seems to be no special Achaemenid significance in the usage of the term 'inhabited', as elsewhere Xenophon describes Gymnias in Scythia and Trapezus as 'inhabited' (*An.* IV 7,19; IV 8,22). The city of Kolossai was later replaced by the nearby city of Laodikeia on Lykos, founded by Antiochus II (261-246 B.C.) and called after his wife Laodike, which became one of the most prosperous cities of Asia. I have also included the evidence from Aphrodisias and a number of other nearby Carian towns within the discussion of evidence from the Kolossai region. Though these towns lay within a different administrative district during the hellenistic and Roman period, and possibly lay within the Carian satrapy during the Achaemenid period too, they fall within the geographic hinterland of Kolossai, as far as the purposes of this study are concerned.

Laodikeia on Lykos. As the city of Laodikeia was a Seleucid foundation of the mid-third century, and as the higher echelons of the Seleucid army and administration are known to have included a number of Iranian families, the possibility that a number of Iranian families were among those granted citizenship, lands, or priviliges within the new imperial foundation is an obvious one. Therefore, when discussing the Iranian names preserved for the city of Laodikeia, I consider it to be as important to discuss possible connections with Iranian families known to have been active within the Seleucid administration of lower Asia in the mid-third century, as it is to discuss possible connections with Persian families known from the Achaemenid period.

A number of Laodikeian citizens with Iranian personal names are attested in later inscriptions (Robert 1969, 333-4). A list of singers from Laodikeia for 150 A.D., in an unedited inscription of Claros, includes one Arsakes son of Athenodorus (Robert 1969, 333). The survival of this Iranian name in a family settled in the area some six hundred years earlier is obviously possible, but there are alternatives. Arsakes is one of the Iranian names preserved in Lycian inscriptions, with three occurrences in Lycia, and a fourth example from north Pisidia. It is possible that the single example of Arsakes from Laodikeia had spread from Lycia in post-Achaemenid times through intermarriage.

A late hellenistic list of names, of uncertain purpose, from Laodikeia includes one Mithres son of Mithres (Robert 1969, 334 nr.3 vs.3). As has been noted before, the popularity and ubiquity of this Greek diminutive form of Mithridates prevents its use as a certain indicator of Achaemenid survivals.

The Ariobazus Family. The tombstones of two Laodikeian citizens called Menoitas son of Mithridates and Ariabazos son of Apollonius (*IG*^{2} ii.9180, 9162) have been recovered in Athens. These two individuals could be from any one of a number of cities called Loadikeia, but Robert (1969, 334 n.3) is probably correct to suggest that the Phrygian city of Loadikeia on Lycos is the most likely. The name Mithridates is not of any great significance, given its popularity during post-Achaemenid times, but the name Ariabazos is of great interest, for it is relatively rare, and it is not one of the Iranian names common in Lycia. In this case then, always assuming that we are dealing with the Phrygian city of Laodikeia, we could be dealing with the survival of a Persian family settled near Kolossai in the Achaemenid period. Again, however, there are other possibilities.

The name Ariabazos is a variant form of Aribazos, **Arya-bazu* in Old Persian (Benveniste 1966, 116). Aelian (*VH* VI 14) mentions one Aribazos the Hyrcanian, a contemporary of Darius, but the only literary references to an Aribazos active in lower Asia come from the third century. A first Aribazos is mentioned as the Seleucid governor of Cilicia who died in 246 B.C. (Launey 1949-50, 565-6 with refs.). A second Aribazos is mentioned by Polybius (VII 17,9; VII 18,4; VII 18,7; VIII 21,9) as commander of the citadel at Sardis under the rebel king Achaeus in 213 B.C. It is possible that the two individuals named Aribazos represent two generations of an Iranian family which was prominent within the Seleucid imperial hierarchy and which may have been based in lower Asia, so there is no means of knowing if the family was one already settled in the area in the Achaemenid period, or if it only settled in lower Asia during the hellenistic period.

If this were the case then it is also possible that the Laodikeian Ariabazos may have been connected to this family, either by birth, by intermarriage, or by patronage. Another Aribazos is mentioned in an inscription from Sebaste (see below), who may also be connected with the Seleucid Aribazos family. Furthermore a series of Athenian inscriptions tell us that one Aribazos, son of Seleucus of Peiraios, was an Athenian citizen from about 150 B.C., when he is mentioned in a catalogue of *hieropoioi* for the Romaia festival (*IG*^{2} ii.1938 vs.12), to about 130 B.C., when he is mentioned in a decree of a college of *technitai* in his favour (*IG*^{2} ii.1331) and is listed in a catalogue of *epimeletes* of the Peiraios. It would be more difficult to make a connection between the Asian Aribazos family with this Athenian citizen, notwithstanding the latter's relatively high social standing. These possible connections are, again, to be regarded purely as suggestions. I do not regard any connection as probable. The point of the exercise however, is to show that connections of this nature can be suggested as easily for the Seleucid period as for the Achaemenid.

The Name Oumanios. An Aphrodisias inscription referring to events of 39 or 38 B.C. mentions one Pythes son of Oumanios, who was almost certainly an inhabitant of Laodikeia, though Robert (1983b, 506-8) thought he might have moved there from Aphrodisias. Robert demonstrates that the name Oumanios is Iranian, and is the same as that lying behind the name Omanes (on which see Schmitt 1975, 23-4) occuring in an inscription of Smyrna (*OGIS* 229, vs.104-5). This inscription dates to the mid third-century, probably to the early years of the reign of Seleucus Kallinikos (246-222 B.C.), though its precise date is uncertain, and records certain priviliges, including politeia, awarded to "Omanes and to the Persians placed under his orders". Omanes seems to be the Iranian commander of a body of troops of the Seleucid army, which had presumably been raised in the east of the empire, and were now stationed in the vicinity of Smyrna. It is possible that Omanes and his men remained in the west after completion of their service, and were settled there as Seleucid colonists. It is highly unlikely, as is frequently suggested, that the troops of Omanes were raised from Persian colonists in Lydia.

It would be tempting to suggest a family connection between this individual and the Oumanios of the Aphrodisias inscription, and to suggest that this particular name was brought to the west during the hellenistic period. It is rather unlikely, however, that the name, though the same in its Iranian form, would be used with such variation in the Greek if it was being used within a single family. Further, and more important, the name also occurs, this time in the form Omaneas, in a table of expenses of the Delian *hieropoioi* (*IG* xi.2.287 A vs.78-9) for 251, telling us that one Omaneas and those under him were paid 17 drachmas and 3 obols for cleaning the Nymphaion. The Delian Omaneas is obviously a person of low social status, and can have no connection with either Omanes or Oumanios, unless the name had been adopted by Omaneas on account of its noble associations. Thus doubt is cast on the reliability of connecting names in this way.

There remains, obviously, the possibility that the name Oumanios came to the west during the Achaemenid period. At least the relatively early date of this inscription restricts the possibilities to the Achaemenid or hellenistic periods. Again the purpose of this discussion has not been to attempt to prove any family or other connections for the Seleucid period, but simply to demonstrate, for Laodikeia on Lykos at least, that such suggestions can be advanced as easily for the Seleucid period as for the Achaemenid.

Other Loadikeian Names. To this list should be added a further name, late hellenistic, and recovered from near Laodikeia, i.e. Mithraboges/Mithrabogos (Malay, Schmitt 1985, 27-9). Given the late hellenistic date, and the great rarity of the name, there would seem to be more grounds for suggesting that this name may reflect Persian settlement in the area during the Achaemenid period, than has been the case in most of the examples discussed previously. Having said this however, it does not necessarily follow that the family of Mithraboges is of Iranian ethnic origin. The name could have been adopted by a local family through intermarriage or as a 'political' act during the Achaemenid period, and retained in the family naming-system into the hellenistic period. Even so, granted the possibility that an Iranian family could have established itself in the area in the hellenistic period, this inscription could well point to the presence of a Persian family using the name Mithroboges in the Kolossai district during the Achaemenid period.

An epitaph from Athens (*IG*² ii.9187) dating to the first century B.C., records the inscription Πέρσης Θεμίσωνος Λαοδικεύς. It is sometimes assumed that Perses was a slave, belonging to one Themison of Laodikeia, and was perhaps of Iranian origin and has been given the slave-name Perses in consequence (cf. Baslez 1985, 147 n.83). A more straightforward interpretation, however, might be simply to regard the epitaph as being to one Perses son of Themison of Laodikeia. The name Perses is a perfectly respectable Greek name, and there need be no Iranian connection whatsoever.

Therefore there seems to be a considerable concentration of Iranian names in the area of Laodikeia on Lykos. Furthermore many of these names are not ones of the common sort, such as Mithridates or Mithres, which were popular in the hellenistic and imperial periods, and which seem to have been widely adopted by persons with no Iranian connections. However it is very difficult to decide whether these Iranian names arrived in the area thanks to Achaemenid settlement around Kolossai, or thanks to Seleucid settlement associated with Laodikeia. In no single case can any firm connection be made with any Laodikeian family using an Iranian name and any Iranian present in the west during the Seleucid hegemony. Nevertheless, the suspicion remains that a number of these Iranian names may have been brought to the area by the foundation of Laodikeia on Lykos.

Apollonia on the Maeander. A little further to the north lay the later city of Apollonia on the Maeander. An inscription dating to the early third century B.C., previously attributed to Apollonia in Lycia (Robert 1962, 56-7 n.3), mentions one Mardonius son of Aristomachus, a *kalos kagathos* living in the region of Apollonia and performing services for the city, but who was not a citizen. Robert (1983b, 498-505), attributing the inscription to Apollonia on the Maeander, has pointed out that the name Mardonios occurs on imperial coins from Hypaipa, and it may be that Mardonios came from a Hypaipan family.

This is a very attractive suggestion, for it seems that Hypaipa and the adjacent Kilbanian plain was an area of Persian noble settlement, and we do know that the 'Lydo-Persians' continued to worship at Hypaipa and Hierakome in Pausanias' time (Sekunda 1985, 14, 23-4). I presume that these 'Lydo-Persians' were the descendants of Persian noble families settled around Hypaipa, who continued to administer the temple into the imperial period. The family of Mardonius could be one of these families. We are, however, some quite considerable distance from Hypaipa. Perhaps, then, the name Mardonius may have been used by more than one of the Persian noble families settled in lower Asia, or had spread from the Hypaipan family to that of Aristomachus. In which case we could see Mardonios as a local landowner having estates in the region of Kolossai. A final 'compromise' possibility might be that the one family owned estates both near Hypaipa and Kolossai. Whichever is the correct interpretation, the early date of this inscription suggests that the family of Mardonius may have been settled in lower Asia during the Achaemenid period. The use of alternating Greek and Iranian names in the family is interesting. This should not necessarily be interpreted as suggesting that the family is a local one which adopted Iranian names. Mardonius' grandfather, who may also have been called Mardonius, may have given his son Aristomachus a Greek name as a 'political' act in the early years following the conquest of Alexander. There is no reason why the 'political' adoption of foreign names might not have worked both ways.

The Tabai Region. Another group of Persian name forms comes from the south-east of Caria, towards the borders with Greater Phrygia and Lycia. The Tabai region alone has furnished a considerable number of Persian names; Artapates, Mithres and Mithridates at Tabai itself, Artabazos and Mithres at Herakleia Salbake, and Artabazos and Mithres at Sebastopolis. (J.& L. Robert 1954, 79; Robert 1978, 285; 1937, 353-4; 1969, 334 n.1). There could be some connection between the repetition of the names Artabazes and Mithres at both Herakleia and Sebastopolis.

Aphrodisias. Some distance to the south-west of Laodikeia on Lykos lies the site of the later city of Aphrodisias, which has furnished a further two Iranian names (Robert 1983b, 505-9). One inscription, which is probably anterior to the imperial period, mentions Aba, the daughter of Artapates, wife of Athenagoras, son of Menedotos. A second, of imperial date, mentions one Mithridates, son of Athenagoras, a *kalos kagathos.* Both individuals presumably belong to the same family. Furthermore we can perhaps connect the wife of the Athenagoras of the first inscription, the daughter of one Artapates, either with the family using the name Artapates at Tabai, or with one of the noble families using this name in Lycia.

The naming-practices of this last family are of great interest. Aba, which might be thought of as a Semitic name at first glance, is, in fact, Anatolian. The name Aba, or Abba, with a masculine form Abbas, is certainly an indigenous one, as has been pointed out by Robert (1963, 504-8), who collects the Anatolian evidence. Robert lists one example at Stratonikeia in Caria, two from Pisidia, one example of Abba from an indeterminate location, but with a father called Mogetasis, a name common in Lydia and the Kibyratis. Further examples are listed by Zgusta (1964, 43-4), who includes an example of Aba from Lycia. These names would seem to be connected with the Carian place-name Aba, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus (sv. Ἄβαι ... Ἄβα πόλις Καρίας ..., cf. Buresch 1878, 123). Thus names of this group seem to be concentrated in south-western Anatolia, in the general area of ancient Caria and Lydia. The most distinguished bearer of the name was one Aba daughter of the Carian dynast Hyssaldomos, father of Hekatomnos. Hornblower (1982, 36 n.8, cf.149 n.161) has rightly pointed out that she may have been only a half-sister to Hekatomnos, rather than full-sister.

Thus we seem to have Anatolian and Persian names alternating in a family based at Tabai. It would be very tempting to suggest that Artapates the *skeptouchos* of Cyrus the Younger may have held estates in the Tabai region, and that his family intermarried with a local native family, which then preserved the name, just as seems to have happened with at least one Lycian noble family. However, it is at least equally possible that the the name was introduced to the Tabai region by a secondary spread of the name through intermarriage with a Lycian family using the name.

It was the view of Louis Robert that the Tabai district had been settled by Iranians during the Achaemenid period, and this may well be the case. Perhaps, though, it might be better to regard the Tabai region as dependant on Kolossai, which lay within easy travelling distance some 20-30 kilometers to the north-east. In the Achaemenid period, therefore, the Tabai region may have lain within Greater Phrygia rather than Caria. If the Tabai region was, in fact, dependant on Kolossai, this in turn raises the possibility that the Iranian presence in the area dates to the hellenistic period, and not to the Achaemenid.

The Kelainai region

Kelainai. Xenophon (*An.* I 2,7-8) tells us that Kelainai was an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus the Younger had a palace and a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals. There was also a second palace belonging to the king, built, together with an acropolis, by Xerxes shortly after Salamis. The *Hell. Oxyrh.* (12 (7).3) tells us that Kelainai was the largest city in Phrygia, and it seems reasonable to assume that the city was the capital of the Greater Phrygian satrapy during the Achaemenid period (cf. Briant 1973, 52), particularly as it seems that Tithraustes was based there. It is possible that the palace of Cyrus the Younger was normally occupied by the satrap.

The Estates of Pythios. Herodotus (VII 27-28) tells us that Pythios, the son of Atys, was the wealthiest man in the empire after Xerxes himself. Pythios was, it seems, the grandson of Croesus, the last Lydian king, and he bears a holy name connected with the Delphic cult of Apollo, with which Croesus had identified closely. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 262d), who gives his name as Pythes, the source of his wealth was his gold-mines. Polyaenus (*Strat.* VIII 42) records an anecdote, which bears the chapter heading 'Pythopolis' instead of the normal personal name, concerning the wife of Pythes, whose name is unknown, but who managed to cure Pythes of his craze for gold. Furthermore Plutarch (*Mor.* 263b) gives the name of the river (cf. Strabo XIV 1,43) which used to flow through Pythes' city as the Pythopolites. Therefore it seems that Pythes was based at a city called Pythopolis, where he carried out his mining activities. According to Herodotus Pythios offered to give Xerxes all his money, which amounted to 2,000 talents of silver and 3,993,000 Daric staters, for he had a sufficient income from his slaves and farms, but this offer was not accepted. Stephanus Byzantinus gives us the following information:

> Pythopolis, a city of Caria, which later was called Nysa. Pythopolis is formed from 'Pythoũ', marked with a circumflex on the last accent (περισπωμένως), as Hermopolis is formed from 'Hermoũ' the genitive [of Hermes]. And this Pythes was so very much the richest of men, that when he entertained Xerxes he provided for every one of his soldiers six golden darics each. The citizen is called a 'Pythopolites' like a 'Hermopolites', and there is another Pythopolis in Mysia.

Stephanus, though drawing on a different source than Herodotus, is clearly referring to the same Pythes and the same Pythopolis. If we compare the accounts of Herodotus and Polyaenus, incidentally, we arrive at an army strength of 665,500 for the invasion of Greece. A figure to conjure with, especially if your name happens to be Herodotus.

It seems, however, that Pythes owned estates not just in Nysa, but throughout the extent of the former Lydian empire. It seems that Croesus had been allowed to retain ownership of at least some of the Lydian royal estates, and these were handed down to his son Attys and his grandson Pythes. The family did not participate in the Lydian revolt led by Paktyas. Notice, for example, how Pythes seems to have named a second city in Mysia (near Kios) after himself. He may also have inherited the Peirossos mountains near Zeleia, in which, Strabo (XIII 1,17) mentions, royal hunting was arranged by the Lydians: presumably in some form of hunting-park, and then by the Persians later on. Therefore Pythes may also have owned considerable estates in Hellespontine Phrygia. Finally it was at Kelainai that Pythes entertained the army of Xerxes during its march westwards to Greece, and this has led many to believe that Pythes was once based at Kelainai (cf. Balcer 1984, 202). Whilst it seems that Pythes' principal residence was at Carian Pythopolis, I think it is perfectly reasonable to assume that some of the 'slaves and farms' of Pythes lay within the vicinity of Kelainai.

Pythes accompanied Xerxes as far as Sardis, but he fell from favour when, as Xerxes left Sardis (Hdt. VII 38), Pythes asked that one of his five sons should be exempted from military service in the impending war against Greece, for he was now very advanced in years, and needed one son to be spared to look after him and his property. Furious at this request, with its hint of possible military failure, Xerxes had the chosen son of Pythes cut in two, and marched his army between the two halves of the body (cf. Seneca *De ira* 3,16). We are not told directly what happened to the other four sons of Pythes, but we can assume that they all died in the war, for Plutarch (*Mor.* 263b) tells us that Pythes retired to his tomb to die, and left the government of his city (ie. Carian Pythopolis) to his wife. One presumes, therefore, that Pythes died without heirs during or shortly after the war.

In this context one returns to the information supplied by Xenophon that the acropolis and one of the palaces at Kelainai was built by Xerxes shortly after the Battle of Salamis. I believe it is reasonable to assume that Kelainai and the surrounding lands which had once belonged to Pythes reverted to the crown after his death. It seems probable, furthermore, that the *chora* of Tithraustes, and any other estates that may have been in the vicinity, were alloted to Persian nobles following the death of Pythes. The possibility that the first Tithraustes to hold estates around Kelainai was the bastard son of Xerxes who commanded the fleet at Eurymedon in 467/6 has already been mentioned.

If this suggestion is correct, it should be noted, that the creation of these noble estates around Kelainai coincided with a period when, I suggest, Persian nobles who had been established on estates in the west were being forced to abandon their lands because of the imperial retreat from Europe. This is a hypothetical suggestion, but there is some support for it in Plutarch's statement that 'certain Persians' were refusing to abandon the Thracian Chersonese before Cimon sailed against them around 466 (*Cim.* 14.1). Various passages in Herodotus also suggest that the Achaemenids had made serious attempts to integrate their European possessions within their normal imperial system, and this may have included the establishment of Persian settlers on lands abandoned or taken over from the conquered. One of these areas may have been the Thracian Chersonese, which was abandoned by Miltiades in 493 following the collapse of the Ionian revolt. Herodotus (IX 115), for example, tells how those dwelling in the area about Sestos congregated within the walls of that city, including Oiobazus, a Persian from the city of Cardia.

We can perhaps connect our conjecture concerning the creation of Persian noble estates around Kelainai, with our earlier suggestion that the Persian noble estates in the Maeander valley were created from land confiscated from Miletus following the Ionian revolt. Perhaps these estates were later extended further by lands inherited by the king near Nysa, not far away from Tralles, following the death of Pythes. Furthermore, it is possible that the area of Persian settlement known to have existed around Kios, Daskyleion, and Zeleia was also formed at this time from estates inherited from Pythes, though, of course, the capital of Hellespontine Phrygia had already been established at Daskyleion itself many years earlier. Unfortunately we do not know the extent of the estates owned by Pythios in any detail, but it is possible that other areas of Persian noble settlement were created from his lands. The circumstantial and conjectural nature of these suggestions is self-evident. Unfortunately we possess insufficient source-material to allow us any certainty concerning these matters, and conjecture is all that is left.

The Estates around Kelainai. As has already been pointed out, the *chora* of Tithraustes probably lay in the vicinity of the city. The family itself, however, may have resided in the satrapal palace inside the city itself. An interesting passage in Plutarch (*Eum.* 8,5) tells us that the army of Eumenes was once wintering in the area of Kelainai. In order to raise pay he sold to the various officers in the army the homesteads and castles (ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας) in the surrounding countryside, which were full of slaves and flocks. One presumes from this passage, and by inference from the celebrated passage describing the castle of Asidates in the Kaïkos valley (Xen.*An.* VII 8,12-14), that these 'homesteads and castles' will have belonged to Persian land-holders of lesser status than the family of Tithraustes. That is, of Persian 'knights' under the 'dukes' of the Tithraustid dynasty.

Briant (*RTP*, 56-62) has discussed this passage in detail, and has demonstrated that these estates were auctioned for pillaging and for temporary occupation, rather than permanently alienated as regards ownership. Therefore actual ownership of the lands will not have been transferred. Nevertheless the destruction and loss of wealth, future revenues, and possibly of life, among the owners of these estates may well have been considerable. It is possible, therefore, that the Persian landowning nobility settled around Kelainai never fully recovered from the devastation suffered at this time. It is possible, furthermore, that many of these lands may have been confiscated from their original Persian owners during the years immediately following the Macedonian invasion of Phrygia, when Antigonus was based at Kelainai, and when, as has been suggested above, the Persian nobility of Phrygia was serving in the cavalry on the wings of the Persian army at Gaugamela. The political situation would have been further complicated by the Persian counter-offensive in Phrygia which took place after the battle of Issus. During this period, apart from their obvious hostility to the Macedonian invaders, the Persian nobles serving with the Persian forces could be technically considered traitors.

Iranian Names at Kelainai. Consequently I believe it is perfectly possible that very few Persians remained in Kelainai by the end of the fourth century, perhaps none at all. Kelainai was re-founded as Apameia by Antiochus I around 275 B.C., and named after Apame, his Bactrian mother, the wife of Seleucus I (Robert 1983b, 504). It has been suggested (J.& L.Robert 1983, 117; cf. Briant 1985a, 174) that Antiochus was influenced in his choice of name for the new city by the existence of a flourishing Iranian element in the area of Kelainai. I believe that this inference is unsound. A huge number of Seleucid cities were called Apameia; Seleucus founded at least three, and his son Antiochus many more (Bevan 1902, 31 n. 4).

Apameia has furnished a considerable number of later inscriptions mentioning one Tiberius Claudius Mithridates, father of Ti. Cl. Piso Mithridatianus, and president of the *Koinon* of Asia about 128 A.D.(*IGR* IV, 780, 787, 788, 790 = *MAMA* VI 109, 110, 180, 182). As I have stated before, I do not believe it is safe to use the name Mithridates to prove any Iranian connections in the family.

The only other Iranian name attested at Apameia is that of a moneyer Maiphernes, which occurs on autonomous bronze coinage issued by the city in the Roman period (Robert 1963, 349). This name belongs to a group of Iranian names formed from an initial *Mai-* element, which seems to have an original meaning of 'moon' (cf. Benveniste 1966, 105 with refs.). This group of names is not confined to Cappadocia: for example a Maiphorres is attested in the Avroman parchments (Minns 1915, 22ff.), but Robert (1964, 514ff.) notes the very heavy concentration of such names in Cappadocia. Therefore one should at least consider the possibility that, as seems to have been the case with Mithridates son of Iazemis at Magnesia on the Maeander, the original Maiphernes was a Cappadocian who became established at Apameia some time in the first century B.C. through the influence of the Cappadocian royal house.

Therefore, unless a large amount of evidence for the survival of Iranian names comes to light at Apameia some time in the future, which cannot be explained in any of the ways outlined above, I conclude that the Persian noble population settled around Kelainai in the Achaemenid period had become displaced by the end of the fourth century. Even if further Iranian names come to light at Apameia, the possibility that Iranians in Seleucid service were among those established in the new city, as may have happened at Laodikeia, needs to be considered.

The route to Cilicia

Evidence for Persian noble settlement elsewhere in Greater Phrygia is scanty and mainly archaeological. The evidence seems to divide roughly into two. There is some evidence for a Persian presence along the course of the 'Royal Road' which ran through northern Phrygia. Secondly there is some further evidence lying along the route leading from Kelainai to Cilicia, which was the route followed by the army of Cyrus the Younger during his revolt.

Ganzaena. Ptolemy (*Geog.* V 2,26) records a town of Phrygia called Gazena (cf. *RE* s.v. Phrygia 828-9, s.v. Gazena), which he locates towards the Pisidian border, not far from Kelainai. At first Ramsay (1895, 296) argued that the Gazena of Ptolemy was a textual corruption for Takina, a town attested in the local epigraphy. Subsequently an inscription was recovered fron Gundai, north of the Hoyrangölü, preserving the ethnic Γανζαηνός (*RE* s.v. Ganza(ia)?). Thus the reference to Gazena in Ptolemy is supported, and the town is located at Gundai, but the precise form of the town's name is not certain.

It is possible that the name is of local origin, but it is more probable, I believe, that the name is derived from the Persian word for treasury. Towns bearing such *Ga(n)za-* names are frequently associated with treasuries located throughout the Achaemenid empire, which seem to be associated with the collection and distribution of tribute (Briant *RTP*, 210-11). It is possible that Gazena preserves the name of one such treasury in the satrapy of Greater Phrygia. The town lay half-way between Kelainai and Tyriaion.

Tyriaion. Xenophon (*An.* I 2,14) mentions Tyriaion as an inhabited city of Phrygia, which lay on the route between Kelainai and Iconium, the last city of Greater Phrygia (I 2,19), after which one entered Lycaonia. A number of names with Iranian connections survive in later inscriptions from Tyriaion (mod. Ilgin), and from the Killanian plain, which lay somewhat to the south in between Gazena and Tyriaion.

A Christian inscription from Tyriaion itself mentions that one Aurelius Mithres erected a tombstone for his sister Anastasia (*MAMA* VII.126). A second Christian inscription (*MAMA* VIII.360), from Karaağaç in the Killanian Plain between ancient Tyriaion and Ganzaena, mentions that one Meithres (note the variant spelling) erected a tombstone for his wife Megiste. Neither of these names, I believe, is of any particular Iranian significance.

A third inscription, much more interesting, from Tyriaion, mentions that one Battakes set up a tombstone for his mother Maiphateis (Anderson 1898, 123). Robert (1963, 517ff.) demonstrates that the name Maiphateis is a feminine version of Maiphates. The ancient Iranian form of Maiphates, which is also found in the form Maiphatas, would be **Mai-pata*, 'protected by the Moon'. The change of *-p-* into φ is discussed by Schmitt (1978, 58 n. 83). As with the name Maiphernes discussed above, it is at least possible that the name Maiphateis, or its masculine counterpart Maiphates, travelled to Tyriaion from Cappadocia at some period later than the Achaemenid period. Tyriaion is quite close to Cappadocia, and it is not really necessary to connect the establishment of this name in Tyriaion with any political act of the first century B.C. There is nothing very unusual in the spread of this particular Iranian name, very widespread in Cappadocia, some distance outside its normal range.

The name Battakes is also of considerable interest. As we shall demonstrate below when we discuss the name with reference to the cult of Magna Mater at Pessinus, the name is, in fact, Iranian. It seems that the name became established in the area of Pessinus first, and then spread to other areas of Anatolia. Unfortunately it is not possible to date this spread, which could have taken place in the Achaemenid period, or later during the hellenistic. Consequently, though it is most interesting that in Tyriaion one bearer of an originally Iranian name marries another bearer of a feminine version of an originally Iranian name, this could be purely coincidental, especially as both names could be considered as, to some degree, 'local'.

Robert (1965, 94) suggested that "Dans la Plaine Cillanienne il y eut aussi ... un noyau de familles iraniennes". Certainly the preservation of the names Battakes and Maiphateis at Tyriaion raises interesting questions, and the possibility of the survival of an Iranian element in the population from Achaemenid times should not be dismissed entirely. Other possibilities, such as the later spread of these names to the region seem, however, more probable.

Laodikeia Katakekaumene. One ʼΑρσά[μη]ς is mentioned in an inscription from Laodikeia Katakekaumene (Ramsay 1888, 265 nr.107 - non vidi). As I have not been able to consult the original publication, again the full context of this inscription is lost to me. Laodikeia was a Seleucid foundation, so it is not really likely that there was much of an Achaemenid 'presence' in the locality earlier on. It is possible though, as with the other material mentioned above, that this evidence could reflect some form of Achaemenid 'presence' associated with the important military road which ran from Kelainai to Cilicia.

The city of Blaunda

Having concluded our survey of the evidence for Persian settlement in the southern regions of Greater Phrygia, we shall now turn to survey the evidence from the northern regions of the satrapy. First though, it is necessary to survey the evidence for the Persian 'presence' in the region of Blaunda, which actually lay in Greater Phrygia, but on the border with Lydia. As shall be seen, there is no evidence for actual Persian settlement in the district, but a discussion of the evidence is necessary to give a reasonably complete picture of the evidence.

The Asian Amyntas. Herodotus (VIII 136) tells us that after the Battle of Salamis Mardonius sent Alexander of Macedon, son of Amyntas, to Athens as ambassador. We are told that Bubares, a Persian, had married Alexander's sister Gygaea, the daughter of Amyntas, and that the couple had had a son whom Herodotus calls 'the Amyntas in Asia'. Presumably this Amyntas was a personage of some note in the time of Herodotus. Here we have an interesting example of intermarriage, where a Persian allows his Macedonian bride to bring Macedonian names into his family naming-system. The inference we can draw from this passage is that it was the status of the two partners in a mixed marriage which determined whether Persian, foreign, or mixed names were to be used in the second generation. In this case the name Amyntas, though not Iranian, is royal, and is retained for that reason. We are further told that this Amyntas had been given Alabanda, a large town in Phrygia, to govern.

This is difficult to understand, as Alabanda is in Caria, not Phrygia, and

Herodotus, from Halicarnassus, is hardly likely to have made a mistake in this matter. Furthermore, we have just been told (Hdt. VII 195) that Aridolis 'tyrant of Alabanda in Caria' had been captured just before Artemisium. This second objection is not of much weight, for Herodotus does not state when Amyntas was given the city, and the date could have been well after 480. The situation is further complicated by the reference (s.v.) in Stephanus Byzantinus to Ἀλάβαστρα, πόλις Φρυγίας. Ἡρόδοτος. etc. A town called Alabastra is otherwise not mentioned by Herodotus, and it has consequently been suggested that the text of Herodotus originally read Alabastra, not Alabanda. Whether the text should read Alabanda or Alabastra, the fact remains that Herodotus is clearly referring to two towns, one in Caria and the other in Phrygia, whatever the name of the Phrygian town originally was.

Hornblower (1982, 218-8 n.2) has suggested that the Phrygian town in question should be identified with Blaunda, which has several variant forms, some quite close to both Alabanda and Alabastra. This suggestion has much to commend it and should be accepted unless further evidence comes to light.

I would like to suggest that Blaunda (a neuter plural toponym in Greek) has found its way into Herodotus in the form Alabanda in the following way. The earliest variants of the name attested on coins and in inscriptions include Βλαυνδα, Βλαυδα, and Μλαυνδα. In discussing the Phrygian personal name Μαλαυνδας Drew-Bear (1978, 58-9) concluded that both the personal name and the toponym were derived from the same root **mlaund-*. The place-name became *blaund-*, while the personal name became *malaund-* through the insertion of an 'anaptotic' vowel. It would seem that the change in the initial letter of the place-name had not become fixed before the end of the hellenistic period, for hellenistic coins of Blaunda have the legend Μλαυνδέων (Head 1911, 646). Therefore I suggest that a further variant form of this toponym, also in circulation at an early date, was *Bala(u)nda*, with the initial morpheme extended, as in the personal name *Malaundas*. There is no early evidence for this variant, but Ramsay (1883, 37-8) notes the form *Balandos*, which appears in the *Notitiae*. Perhaps, then, Herodotus heard the toponym as *(A)balanda*, and thought it was the same word (through metathesis) as the Carian Alabanda. He would perhaps form the impression that there were two towns called Alabanda, one in Caria the other in Phrygia, and so he might write both town-names in the form Alabanda, with which he was most familiar. It follows, therefore, that Stephanus would have had a manuscript of Herodotus in front of him with a corrupt reading of Alabastra.

In the case of Amyntas we do not seem to be dealing with an example of Persian noble settlement in Phrygia, as we have defined this term in our study. Rather Amyntas seems to have been given the revenues of the city of Alabanda/Alabastra to live off, as is made clear by Herodotus' use of the term νέμεσθαι, as demonstrated by Briant 1985b, 58-9). Briant places the case of Amyntas alongside that of Greeks, such as Themistocles or Demaratus, who were alotted the revenues of various Asian cities to live off by the king.

Pharnakion. A second entry in Stephanus mentions a town in Phrygia called Pharnakion.

> Pharnakeia, a Pontic land and town next to Trapezus. The ethnic is Pharnakeus after Pharnakos, as Antiochos Antiocheus, Seleukos Seleukeus. There is also a Pharnakion in Phrygia, so Alexander in Book Three of *Concerning Phrygia.*

The Pharnakeia in Pontus was probably founded by the grandfather of Mithridates the Great (Hermann *RE* s.v. Pharnakeia [1]). The source of Stephanus for a Pharnakeion in Phrygia is Alexander of Miletus (*RE* s.v. Alexandros [88]), who wrote a *Peri Phrygias* some time in the early first century B.C. Ruge (*RE* Phrygia (Topographie) 848) lists the town in Phrygia without comment, and, given that Stephanus names his source as Alexander of Miletus, it is reasonable to presume that Greater Phrygia is meant, rather than Hellespontine Phrygia, which would hardly be considered as part of 'Phrygia' in the first century B.C.

The name of the town preserves the personal name Pharnakes, and it is reasonable to assume that the town was founded by someone of this name. For the form of the name we might compare the city of Mithridation, once part of the Pontic kingdom until given to the Galatians by Pompey (Strabo XII 5,2). Mithridation was obviously a foundation of the Pontic royal house, as was Pharnakeia, so it would be tempting to consider Pharnakeion as a Pontic royal foundation too. The location of Pharnakeion in Phrygia, however, seems to rule this possibility out.

An alternative possibility to be considered is that the town was once owned, rather than founded, by one Pharnakes, and took its name from its owner. The Pharnakids were a powerful family of royal blood, and their lands were probably not confined to Hellespontine Phrygia, but were spread throughout the empire, so there is no reason why they might not have owned estates in Greater Phrygia. If this were the reason for the adoption of a name based on Pharnakes however, one would expect it to be preserved in some form such as 'Town/Village of Pharnakes', rather than Pharnakion. We might compare the information given us by Eustathius (918) that the city of Apameia in Syria was once a village and called Pharnake Kome (ἡ Ἀπάμεια, ποτὲ μὲν κώμη οὖσα καὶ Φαρνάκη καλουμένη). This is the naming practice normally found.

Pharnakion, then, appears to be a foundation of Pharnakes, rather than an estate once owned by Pharnakes. If the town were located in Hellespontine Phrygia one could naturally ascribe its foundation to one or other of the Pharnakid dynasty who were satraps at Daskyleion. Our Pharnakeion lies in

Greater Phrygia, but this does not necessarily rule the city out as a Pharnakid foundation, especially if the foundation took place at some time when a Pharnakid was exercising control, not just over his own satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia, but over lower Asia as a whole. A couple of examples of what could be considered as Pharnakid acts of foundation are attested in the sources. A passage in Thucydides (V 1,1) describes how the Delians, when expelled from Delos by the Athenians in 422, settled at Atramytteion in Asia, which had been given to them by Pharnakes. Another passage in Diodorus (XIII 104,6) describes how in 405 a thousand respectable democratic citizens were forced to flee from Miletus after Lysander's coup in that city. They were given a gold stater each and settled "in Blauda, a certain fortress of Lydia" by Pharnabazus. One would expect such a foundation to bear the title Pharnabazeion or some such, but it is possible that Pharnabazus wished to honour the name of his dead father, from whom he had taken over rule of the satrapy some seven or more years previously. Hellenistic monarchs, for example, did not always name their civic foundations after their own name, but frequently used the opportunity to honour one of their parents in this way.

The text of Diodorus has κλαῦδα, which was emended by Wesseling to Βλαῦδα. There is little doubt that this *phrourion* of Blauda in Lydia is to be identified with the Blaunda located on the Lydian border of Phrygia. The reader is, once again, directed to the discussion of this problem by Hornblower (1982, 218-9 n.2). The implication of this assumption is, therefore, that the 'Amyntas of Asia', famous to Herodotus and his readership, but perfectly unknown to us, had lost his rights to the revenues of Blaunda, perhaps only some short time before. One presumes that the lands of Blaunda were divided into lots and distributed among the thousand new citizens. We have no evidence that the thousand Milesian democrats were ever allowed to return to their home city, and, given the subsequent history of Perso-Lacedaemonian relations over the next twenty or more years, it is unlikely that they ever did.

Pharnakion has not been located yet, and no epigrahic reference to the town has been recovered. In default of any other evidence, I would like to suggest that the new foundation of Blaunda was perhaps given the name Pharnakeion. In time the new foundation may have reverted to its traditional name. In such case, given the rarity of epigraphical material from the region in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, the failure of the name to survive outside Stephanus is hardly remarkable. It is fortunate that Stephanus gives the source for his information on Pharnakeion in Phrygia as Alexander of Miletus. Given that, if the hypothesis advanced in the pages above is accepted, the inhabitants of Pharnakeion were Milesians, it is perfectly possible that Alexander drew his information on the city from a Milesian source.

The Royal Road

The remaining sites in Greater Phrygia for which there is some evidence of a Persian presence, in whatever form, all lie along the route which, it is normally presumed, the Royal Road took from Sardis to Susa. It is interesting to recall the description given by Herodotus (V 52,1) of the Royal Road passing through settled and safe country. Elsewhere (V 35,3) he tells us that the roads were guarded.

The Uşak region

Temenouthyrai. The ancient city of Temenouthyrai lies under the modern town of Uşak (Drew-Bear 1979). Literary, numismatic and epigraphic references to the city are all late, which is rather surprising given the importance of the location. It is at least possible that the city of Keramon Agora, which Xenophon (*An.* I 2,10) mentions as being an inhabited city, the last Phrygian city as one goes towards Mysia, but which is not, to my knowledge, otherwise attested, should be identified with Temenouthyrai (*RE* s.v. Keramōn Agora).

Ikiztepe. A number of tumuli are located to the west of Uşak, at a site called Ikiztepe. One, excavated by the Turkish Department of Antiquities, yielded silver vessels in Persian and Lydian shapes, including a Persian incense-burner (*AJA* 71, 1967, 172, pl.59). I have previously noted the difficulty of deciding whether material such as this can be taken as evidence of Persian noble settlement locally. Achaemenid silverware is frequently acquired by the local nobility through the medium of gift-exchange, and could quite possibly be found in tombs belonging to the native nobility, rather than tombs of Persian noble settlers. In the case of Phrygia however, as opposed to Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Lydia, Caria or Lycia, we have absolutely no evidence at all, even for the existence of a Phrygian native nobility. Having said this, an isolated tomb such as the one found at Ikiztepe, needs further supplementary evidence before it can be taken as evidence of Persian noble settlement in the Uşak region.

Sebaste. The later town of Sebaste is located in the next river valley some 35 kms. to the south-east of Uşak. The names Mithridates, Aribazos and Sisines occur in a list of gerousiasts of Sebaste (Robert 1978, 284-5 n.63). It should be noted that, with the exception of Mithridates, these names are not common.

We have already discussed the possible connection of an Ariabazos mentioned in an inscription from Laodikeia with the two individuals named Aribazos who served in the Seleucid hierarchy in lower Asia. We can also, perhaps, connect the name Aribazos found at Sebaste. It should be stressed, again, that the name Aribazos is not at all common.

The name Sisines is less rare, for example the eldest son of Datames satrap of Cappadocia bore this name (cf. Sekunda 1988a, 48-9), but no other example of the name seems to lend itself to be linked in any way with the name at Sebaste. On the group of Iranian names beginning with *Sisi-* see Schmitt 1971, 179-180; in: Mayrhofer 1973, 289; Schmitt 1975, 21-23).

The use of Iranian names by three leading families in a single city is quite remarkable. Robert was consequently led to suggest that the area was once one of Persian settlement. Of course these families need not have been originally located in the area of Sebaste itself, but rather in its general vicinity. Thus it seems reasonable to connect these families with the Ikiztepe tomb. As this tomb is Achaemenid in date, one is constrained to conclude that the Uşak region was an area of Persian noble settlement in the Achaemenid period. The possible hellenistic connections of the name Aribazos need not rule out this conclusion, for it is possible that the family of Aribazos was originally based in the west; perhaps in the Uşak region itself.

From Leontokephalai to Pessinus

The rest of the evidence appears to be scattered, approximately along the route of the Royal Road, from Keramon Agora to Gordion, without, it seems, being particularly concentrated in any one area. This is as one would expect anyway, given that the area has been explored archaeologically much less intensively than the areas already examined. Consequently it is very difficult to know how to interpret this light scatter of evidence. One could be dealing with an area or areas of noble settlement, Achaemenid colonies, or Iranization associated merely with the course of the road.

Leontokephalai. The Afyon region, about a hundred kilometers to the east, on the road towards Gordion, was a region of considerable strategic and economic importance. This is clearly indicated by the establishment of the Macedonian colony of Dokimeion nearby. During the Achaemenid period Afyon, or at least some town lying in the Afyon region, was called Leontokephalon, or 'Lion's Head'. Plutarch (*Them.* 30) places the city on the main road between Sardis and Susa. The town is also mentioned by the *Hell. Oxyrh.* (21 [16].5) which states that Agesilaus reached a place called Leonton Kephalai, made several attacks on it, but achieved nothing, and so moved on and led the army further into Phrygia towards Gordion. It seems, therefore, that the site was fortified during the Achaemenid period.

A couple of pieces of evidence indicate that the area may have been one of Persian noble settlement. If this were the case it might explain why Agesilaus decided to march on Gordion via Leontokephalon, i.e. that Leontokephalon was an objective in itself (cf. Bruce 1967, 140).

Altintaş. A tombstone of 'Graeco-Persian' type, using this term loosely, has been recovered from nearby Altintaş and is now in Afyon Museum. It seems to be late fifth century in date (Pfuhl & Möbius 1977, nr.75) and was manufactured from local Dokimeian marble. This is, perhaps, evidence for Persian noble settlement in the Afyon region. Wherever else 'Graeco-Persian' tombstones have been recovered, in the Daskyleion region, in the general area of Manisa, or in Hypaipa, there is good evidence for Persian noble settlement, and it is reasonable to suppose that these tombstones were erected by, or on behalf of, Persian 'knights', or their retainers, settled in the area. Therefore it seems possible that the Afyon region was an area of Persian noble settlement.

Nakoleia. In the middle of a triangle drawn between Afyon, Gordion and Eskişehir lies Seyitgazi, ancient Nakoleia, which has produced an inscription (Drew-Bear 1978, 48-50) to 'Zeus of the Persians and Zeus Bronton and Zeus Astrapton' (Διὶ Περσῶν καὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Ἀστράπτοντι).

Although Zeus is the Greek name commonly given to Ahuramazda, a cult of 'Zeus of the Persians' is otherwise unattested in Anatolia. A fragment of Gorgias preserved in Longinus (*Subl.* 3,2) tells us that Gorgias referred to Xerxes as 'The Zeus of the Persians'. The context is unknown, but the passage can perhaps be associated with the anecdote related by Herodotus (VII 56), in which a Hellespontine asks, upon seeing the passage of the Persian army across the Hellespont "Oh Zeus, why, assuming the form of a Persian, and taking the name of Xerxes, do you wish to conquer Greece, bringing all mankind with you, since without them it was in your power to do this?". The connection has already been suggested by How and Wells (1912, 150). In such case the phrase is a rhetorical hyperbole, and has no relevance to a cult of Zeus of the Persians. The conjecture of Cook (1914, 741 n.4), who thought that a reference to *Mazdāh* might be contained within the Hesychian gloss Μαζεύς· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυξί, is possibly of more relevance. If this conjecture were true, it would be evidence for the worship of Ahuramazda in Phrygia. This interpretation of the gloss, however, seems most uncertain.

The cult can perhaps be associated with the cult of Zeus Varadates (*Baradata* 'The Law-giver') attested in an inscription recovered from Sardis (Robert 1975, 306-30), which suggests that the cult was widespread throughout lower Asia, though this too is not certain. Whatever the precise nature of the cult, the inscription from Nakoleia would seem to suggest a heavy Persian presence in the area (cf. Hornblower 1982, 351) [But compare now Gschnitzer 1986 who suggests that it refers to Zeus worshipped by the family of Baradatas. (Eds.)]

Dareion. Stephanus Byzantinus contains the following interesting entry:

> Dareion, a town of Phrygia. The ethnic in the case of the Phrygians (is) different by one syllable: 'Darieus', like Kotiäeion Kotiaeus, or, in the case of 'Rhoiteion' and 'Sigeion', Darieieus.

The entry (Δαρεῖον) is out of alphabetical order in Stephanus, and is usually emended to Δαρίειον. This still does not restore a proper alphabetic sequence, however, and the manuscript spelling should probably be retained.

A town called Dareion is also mentioned in the Hellespontine district in the Athenian tribute list for 425/4 as Δαρεῖον παρὰ τὴν Μυσίαν. It does not occur in any other list, and is absent from the full list preserved for 433/2. The editors (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor 1939, 479) identified this Dareion with the Dareion in Stephanus, arguing that the Phrygia of Stephanus must be the coast of 'Hellespontine Phrygia' west of Kios.

This is possible, but it is equally possible that Stephanus is referring to a second Dareion in Greater Phrygia. 'Hellespontine' or 'Coastal' Phrygia is a term used in the classical period, but dies out later on, when the whole area comes to be classed as Mysia. Stephanus' usage is highly irregular for towns of this region. He calls Pythopolis Mysian, Artake Phrygian, Kyzikos a town of the Propontis, and Rhyndakos a town between Phrygia and the Hellespont. In fact he seems to follow the usage of his source, which depends on its date. In the case of Dareion, unfortunately, Stephanus does not state his source. One notes, however, that Stephanus discusses in his entry how the ethnic of Dareion is formed in the Phrygian language, whereas the native language of the inhabitants of Hellespontine Phrygia seems to have been Mysian. Therefore, though I do not think certainty is possible in this matter, I believe it is probable that Stephanus is referring to a second Dareion in Greater Phrygia.

It seems, then, that in addition to the separate settlement called Dareioukome in Lydia, there were two towns called Dareion in lower Asia, one in Mysia (or Hellespontine Phrygia) and one in Greater Phrygia. Ruge, who lists the town as Phrygian (*RE* s.v. Phrygia (Topographie) 825), subscribes to the suggestion advanced by Cramer (*non vidi*) that the *Darieion* of Stephanus is a mistake for the Phrygian town Dorieion. This is most unlikely. In the first place it requires the emendation of the manuscript Δαρεῖον to Δορίειον. Secondly Stephanus gives Dorieion a separate entry:

> Dorieion, a town of Phrygia. The ethnic is Dorieus, like Gordieus.

It is hardly likely that a mistake has occurred in manuscript transmission, for the two entries are so dissimilar. It is even less likely that in his original work Stephanus has made a false duplication of information on the same ethnic. If a second Dareion is to be located in Greater Phrygia we have no precise knowledge of its whereabouts. Nor can we be absolutely sure it is a foundation of Darius, rather than a chance similarity in the name of some native town. Having made these provisos, however, it seems probable that a town so named would, in fact, have been an Achaemenid foundation, and may well have been a military colony like those for which we have evidence in Lydia.

Ruge lists Dureios (cf. *RE* Phrygia (Topographie) 825) as the name of a river near Dokimeion, which seems to be the normal interpretation of a legend which appears on coins issued by that city. It is perhaps possible that Dureios may preserve Dareion in some form, in which case Dokimeion may have been established on or near the site of an earlier Achaemenid colonial foundation. One also notes that the mountain behind Dokimeion, from which the widely-used Dokimeian marble was quarried, seems to have been given the name Persis. This local name is only attested, again, by coins issued by Dokimeion (e.g. Ormerod, Robinson 1914, 41 & pl.I, nr.15), showing Kybele and behind her the two peaks of Mount Persis. In the exergue is the legend Persis. I should stress though, that these suggestions as to the possible location of a possible town called Dareion have been advanced only in default of any firm evidence at all as to Dareion's whereabouts. It is to be hoped that further evidence will be discovered some time in the future which will throw more light on the problem.

'Iranian' Names from the Aezanitis. An inscription in the village of Avşar, near the ancient Aezani, some 25 miles to the west of Altintaş, mentions one Mithres (*MAMA* IX, 112 cf. p.lix). The difficulty surrounding the interpretation of the name Mithres has already been mentioned. A second inscription (*MAMA* IX, 181) from Kirgil, some 25 miles still further west, records the name Persion. The editors suggest that "there might be a connection with Perseus or with Iran". However the name is attested at Cos, appearing on fourth-century coins as Persi[on] (Paton & Hicks 1891, 305 nr.7). It seems to be derived from the common Greek personal name Perses. Finally the name Υρσάκης, at one time read in a poorly-lettered Christian inscription from Tepecik, has now been abandoned in favour of Κ̣υριακῖς on the basis of later readings (*MAMA* IX, 560 (b) vs. 5, p. 172).

Thus there is no certain evidence in the onomastics of the Aezanitis, which in any case lies some way to the west of the Afyon region, and away from the Royal Road, which would suggest that the area might have been one of Persian settlement. An Iranian derivation of the name Zeus Abozenos, whose worship was restricted to this region, has been tentatively advanced (*MAMA* IX p. 22), but it is certain that the cult name is local.

Pessinus and the Mount Didyma Region

Although most of the evidence from northern Greater Phrygia is widely scattered, and the literary evidence is all but non-existent, we have a considerable amount of evidence for some kind of Persian presence at Pessinus, connected with the cult of Magna Mater.

The Cult of Magna Mater at Pessinus. Strabo (XII 5,3) lists Pessinus, famous as being the home of the most venerable shrine of Magna Mater, or Kybele, as lying within Galatia, near the banks of the Sangarios, and therefore almost on the border with Phrygia Epiktetos. Originally the city lay within the satrapy of Greater Phrygia. He also tells us that the sacred precinct had been beautified by the kings of Pergamon. Prior to the hellenistic period we have no information on the nature of the cult or of the sanctuary (for which see Magie 1950, 769-70 n.71).

Polybius (XXI 37,5) tells us that in 189 B.C., as Manlius was camped on the Sangarios and about to enter Galatia, two Galloi came to him on behalf of Attis and Battakes, the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, announcing that the goddess foretold his victory. In 102 B.C. one of these priests, Batakes in Plutarch (*Mar.*17,5-6) or Battakes in Diodorus (XXXVI 13,1-3) visited Rome. The likelihood is that both Attis and Batakes are sacred and not personal names. By the middle of the second century B.C. a Gaul had attained the holy office and assumed the name of Attis (Welles 1934, 246). It is interesting to note, in the context of this present study, that the priestly name Batakes is Iranian in origin.

The Name Batakes. In the Apocrypha book of Esdras we are told of a competition between three young men at the Persian court, during the reign of Darius I, to establish which was strongest; wine, the king, or women. Zerubbabel, a Jew, managed to prove that women were the strongest, and won the competition. During the course of the narrative he has cause to refer to Apame, the daughter of Bartakes (I *Esdras* 4, 29). The name in the text is, unfortunately, rather difficult to establish with certainty, but has been discussed with some thoroughness by Torrey (1910, 40-44). The Egyptian recension has τὴν θυγατέρα Βαρτάκου, while the Syro-Palestinian recension has Βαζακου or Βεζακου. The parallel passage in Josephus (*AJ* XI 3,5) has Apame as τῆς Ῥαβεζάκου, which seems to be explained as a copyist's error for [θυγατέ]ραβεζακου.

Mayrhofer (1973, 8.175) connects the Elamite transcription *Ba-da-ka* with forms such as Βαδακης, Βαδαγος, etc. which are found in Anatolia and the Crimea. Hinz (1973, 49-50), suggests that the name is based on **bata-* 'wine', and has an Old Persian form **Bataka-* (Hinz 1975a, 64). This coincides with the form of the name attested in the texts mentioned above, and in the inscriptions which will be discussed below. Therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that the name originally in the text of Esdras would have been the perfectly respectable Iranian name Batakes. We do not need to emend the form Bartakes found in the Egyptian recension, as the extra *-r-* can be easily explained as an attempt to represent the long *-a-* of the Iranian original (compare the name Bardak listed by Justi 1895 s.v.). Furthermore, though the document(s) from which the texts above were copied may have been Greek, if the story has any basis in fact, which I believe it must have, it must go back to an original literary source in Aramaic. If so, it is possible that the form of the name may have suffered a little during translation into Greek.

In the texts of Esdras the name Βαρτάκου is followed by the words τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ, translated as an epithet 'the illustrious'. The usage is clumsy, and the word probably conceals a patronymic. Indeed in the parallel text of Josephus Bartakes is termed τοῦ Θεμασίου 'the son of Themasios' (Torrey 1910, 44). It has been suggested that the name Themasios in Josephus can be connected with the proper name *Thamasios* (or *Thaumasios*) found in Herodotus VII 194 (e.g. Cook 1913, 31 n.29). The name is perhaps to be connected with *Da-u-ma* in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, and the Old Persian *tauma-* 'family' (Mayrhofer 1973, 8.376). In Herodotus Thamasios is the father of one Sandokes, a hyparch of Kyme in Aeolis, who commands a detachment of the Persian fleet before Artemisium. Sandokes was one of the royal judges, who had been formerly condemned by king Darius for accepting a bribe. Sandokes was pardoned and released by Darius, because his services to the royal family were greater than his faults. Thus Sandokes, who was captured by the Greeks before Artemisium, was a contemporary of Darius, and was a person of considerable importance at court. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that Bartakes was his brother and was also an influential person at the court of Darius. Therefore, whatever the historicity of the competition of the three young men in Esdras, it would seem that Bartakes actually existed and was a contemporary of Darius.

Batakes as a Priestly Name. Thus Batakes is attested as an Iranian proper name, at first as a personal name associated with a very influential family, and then as a priestly name associated with the cult of Magna Mater at Pessinus. We might compare the development of the priestly name Megabuxos connected with the cult of Artemis at Ephesus.

The *neokoros* (temple-warden) of the cult of Ephesian Artemis bore the priestly name Megabuxos, which also occurs in the Greek and Latin texts in the form Megabyzos. Benveniste (1966, 108) has demonstrated that the original form of this name is the Old Persian **Bagabuxša*. This priestly name would have originally been a personal name, and indeed it appears in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets (Mayrhofer 1973, 8.210) in the form *Bakapukša*. Originally, therefore, it would seem that a Persian nobleman called Megabuxos was made *neokoros* of the cult of Ephesian Artemis in recognition of his devotion to the deity. This office would have been handed down in his family for a number of generations, each using the same personal name. Eventually the family may have died out, or for some other reason was unable to provide someone suitable to fill the post. At this point someone not of the family was appointed as *neokoros*, but the family name was continued for the sake of religious tradition and conservatism. It is very difficult to establish when this change took place. Xenophon (*An.* V 3,6) mentions that the *neokoros* was called Megabyzos as early as 394 (Lewis 1977, 108 n. 1). It is possible that the name had already become a priestly title by this date , but this is not certain. In 333 a decree of Priene honoured Megabuxos, the *neokoros* of Artemis at Ephesus, and at about the same time Alexander wrote a letter to Megabyzus about a slave who had taken refuge in the sanctuary (Plut. *Alex.* 42). Strabo (XIV 1,23) however, quoting Artemidorus (*fl.* c. 100 B.C.), tells us that the Megabyzoi (plural) were eunuchs. Thus we can at least be sure that the change had taken place before the end of the second century.

Some similar process seems to have begun at Amyzon, though it seems not to have become regularized to the same degree as at Ephesus, and it seems reasonable to extend the analogy to the personal or priestly name Batakes at Pessinus. I would like to suggest, therefore, that a Persian family using the name Batakes was settled in the vicinity of Pessinus in the Achaemenid period, that they became associated with the cult of Magna Mater there, and that they bequeathed their name to one of the pair of chief priests of the cult. In the case of the cult of Magna Mater the Batakes is clearly a priest, rather than a *neokoros*, but this may not have been the case originally.

Attis. The cult of Magna Mater which is found at Pessinus seems completely indigenous, at least in its original form, and remained largely uninfluenced by Iranian religious practices. The second of the two chief priests of the cult at Pessinus was called Attis. It seems probable, therefore, that Attis was originally a secular name used by a family associated with the cult prior to Batakes becoming associated with it. Attis is also a name given to a subsidiary male deity associated with the cult of Magna Mater, or Kybele. This Attis starts to assume more religious significance in the imperial period. It is generally held that Attis becomes endowed with some of the attributes of Mithras, and it is possible that this syncretism started at Pessinus during the Achaemenid period. The Romans seem to have believed that Mithraism spread from the Persians to the Romans through the agency of the Phrygians (Cumont 1939, 70) though this belief might have been mistaken.

The Galloi. The original nature of the cult at Pessinus is quite unknown, as the information at our disposal largely comes from the imperial period, when even the basic facts concerning the cult have become distorted by massive accretions of later belief. Thus the origin of the name 'Galloi' given to the eunuch priests of the cult at Pessinus is not clear; though it is certain that there can be no link with the Galatians. In fact the word is one with local associations. Herodian (I 11,2), Pliny (*NH* V 42,147) and Ovid (*Fasti* IV 361-4) all agree that the Galloi took their name from the river Gallos in Phrygia. Stephanus Byzantinus (s.v. Πεσσινοῦς), in turn, mentions an individual called Gallos, as, seemingly, does Julian (*Or.* 5,159 a). This person called Gallos seems to be a false eponym created to explain both the name of the river and of the eunuch priests. Likewise the king Gallos, son of Pharnakes king of Cappadocia and Atossa, sister of Cambyses, the father of Cyrus the Great, is a late invention. The source is Diodorus (XXXI 19,1), who is giving the family tree of the Ariarathid dynasty of Cappadocia. This genealogy is demonstrably false. One of the Ariarathid ancestors is said to be Datames the satrap of Cappadocia, who is claimed to be son of Anaphas, one of 'the Seven'. Datames may well have been descended from one of 'the Seven', but his father is known to have been called Camisares, and more than two generations are required to bridge the gap between the accession of Darius and the middle of the fourth century (cf. Sekunda 1988a, 52 n.24). This false family tree may have been created around the period 260-256 B.C., when Ariaramnes first assumed the title of king, and his son Ariarathes married Stratonike, the daughter of Antiochus II. It may have been thought prudent to give the family false credentials of illustrious origins.

This is not to say, of course, that a king named Gallos might not have already existed in the mythology of Anatolia in the early third century B.C., and it is not impossible that these myths might have reflected a Phrygian personage who actually existed before the disintegration of the Phrygian kingdom. Such an individual, however, would not have been of Iranian descent, and thus the name Gallos has no Iranian connections. These details have been mentioned because it has been suggested that Gallos might reflect an Iranian name, and that the Galloi-priests might have some Iranian connections (cf. Justi 1895, 109a).

The Distribution of the Secular Name Batakes. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that a family using the name Batakes had become established in the environs of Pessinus at some time during the Achaemenid period. It is possible that the historically attested individual Bartakes son of Thamasios, a contemporary of Darius, belonged to this family. The date at which the family became established at Pessinus is, however, unknown. In my view it seems probable that the other examples of the name found in lower Asia spread from this family at a later date, possibly through intermarriage, though other channels of dissemination are not impossible.

The most interesting example of the name, from the point of view of this study, has been recovered from the village of Karaler, some way to the east of Midiaion and therefore, whilst not in the immediate vicinity of Pessinus, not too distant either. The inscription (*CIG* iii.4122) is a simple family epitaph, other family members bearing common Phrygian names, such as Apphe and Tatas, which are widespread in the area. There is no reason to think that this family was distinguished in any way. Therefore there is no reason why one should look for any family connection with the priestly family of Batakes, or the priestly caste named Batakes as it may have become by that time. It is possible, however, that the name had been adopted by a simple local family as an act of devotion to the cult.

The inscription from the Kabalia mentioning one Batakes father of Demas has already been discussed, as has the inscription giving the same name from Tyriaion. Robert (1963, 533-4) also reports examples from Panticapaeum, a rich repository for Iranian names, and from Athens, where one Batakes of Nicaea in Bithynia is known to have been a student of the philosopher Karneades. Note also the suggested reading of]ς Βαρ["perhaps two names" in an inscription from Çavdarhisar in the Aezanitis (*MAMA* ix.123 vs. 2). I believe it is possible that the name Batakes spread to all these places in the post-Achaemenid period, having originally been localized in the Pessinus district.

Other Iranian Names from the Mount Dindymus Region. In a recent article Strubbe (1981, 121-126, Cf. *SEG* 31, 1076-7) reports two new Iranian names found in inscriptions from Germa/Germakoloneia: also in the Mount Dindymus region of Greater Phrygia (prior to the creation of Galatia). A first inscription mentioning one Ochus dates to some year after 212 A.D., and a second mentioning one Mandana dates to 124 or 127-9 A.D. Strubbe (1981, 125) suggests that the Mount Dindymus region may have been one of Persian settlement during the Achaemenid period. Whilst it is possible that both these names arrived in Germa thanks to a later spread of the name (for example Strubbe notes that the name Mandana is also attested at Comana in Cappadocia) their coincidence with the name Batakes at Pessinus is remarkable.

Gordion

Though evidence for an Achaemenid presence at Gordion is plentiful, particularly archaeological evidence (reports in *AJA* 1956 and following years), there is nothing to suggest noble settlement as opposed to the Achaemenid presence one would expect to find in an important administrative centre.

Hell. Oxyrh. (21[16].6) mentions that Gordion was energetically defended against Agesilaus by one Rathanes hyparch of the place. It is frequently assumed that Rathanes was settled at Gordion (cf. Cook 1983, 178), but he is mentioned before (Xen.*Hell.* III 4,13) as joint commander of Pharnabazus' cavalry along with Bagaios, the bastard son of Pharnabazus, once Spithridates had deserted to the enemy. Therefore I believe that it is at least equally possible that Rathanes was a military officer of the king, sent down to the west first to command Pharnabazus' troops, but then later to help organize the defence of the interior.

Ancyra

Strubbe (1981, 125 n.83) has also noted a number of Iranian names in an inscription from Ancyra, not available to me, dating to 102 A.D. He mentions the names Τειριδάτης, Μάγος, Μιθριδάτης, Μιθριδατικός and Σισίννος. Thus it is possible that the area surrounding Ankara was one of Persian settlement during the Achaemenid period, and that persons using Iranian names were included in the citizenry of Ancyra upon the foundation of that city.

Unfortunately we are now in an area about which our Greek sources from the classical period tell us nothing, so distant are they from the Aegean coast. Therefore we have insufficient evidence to pass judgement on this information. Furthermore, the closer we travel towards Cappadocia, the greater the chances become of Iranian names having travelled from Cappadocia during the hellenistic and Roman periods. There is reason to believe, in fact, that Cappadocian names became reasonably popular in Galatia during the later hellenistic period. Thus an inscription from Delphi (*SGDI* 1854), dating to between 170 and 157 B.C., records the affranchisement of one Maiphatas, a Galatian by race (Μαιφάτας τὸ γένος Γαλάταν).

Few of the names cited in the list above are, in fact, of undoubted 'Iranian' origin. Mithridates, a royal name of the Pontic royal house, and its derivative form Mithridaticus, could have been assumed by non-Iranians. Furthermore Tiridates is a royal name in both Parthia and Armenia, and could have been assumed because of its noble associations. Magos, strictly speaking, is the name of an Iranian priestly caste, rather than a personal name, although the name Magios does occur elsewhere in Anatolia, and an Iranian origin has been suggested for it (Zgusta 1964, 278). Sisinnos is probably another form of the personal name Sissinios (*CIG* iv.8864, 8866; Suda s.v. Σισίννιος), which was probably derived from the Roman family name Sisenna (App. *Mith.* 95; Tac. *Hist.* II 8), rather than a variant form of the Iranian name Sisines. Even if it is an Iranian name, it could have spread to Ancyra from Cappadocia at a period later than the Achaemenid. A later Sisines, for example, was awarded Cappadocia by Antony (Appian *Bel.Civ.* 5,7; cf. Strabo XII 2,6). None of the Ancyran names in Strubbe's list then, is necessarily borne by someone of Iranian origin.

In circumstances like these one is thrown back on the archaeological evidence. This is as yet slight. Should archaeological evidence for some form of Achaemenid presence in the Ankara region come to light at some future date, however, it may be possible to connect this evidence with the Iranian names from the inscription, and to suggest that the Ankara region was one of Persian settlement.

Conclusions. Thus the Uşak region seems to be the last area where there is a sufficient concentration of relevant evidence to allow us to consider it a probable area of Persian settlement. East of here there is a slight scatter of evidence for some form of Persian presence throughout northern Phrygia. It is possible that there might have been a military colony called Dareion near the site of the later Dokimeion, and it is also possible that there may have been some noble settlement around Mount Dindymus, but the suggestions advanced in the text above should be regarded as merely hypothetical and provisional, given the state of the evidence. In general the evidence is too slight to allow us to reach any decision as to the form that the Persian presence took. At some future date further evidence may come to light which will enable us to reach such a decision.

General Conclusions

Any conclusions arrived at in consequence of this study must be provisional, given that Persian noble settlement in Lydia has not yet been studied. Like all conclusions in academic study, they must be provisional pending the discovery of further material anyway. Nevertheless I believe we can make some general deductions which are worth stating. In broad terms these fall into two categories; those concerning evidence directly related to the situation in the Achaemenid period, and those related to the use of 'Iranian' names which have survived into the late hellenistic and imperial periods.

First there seems to be good evidence that the Maeander valley and the Kelainai district were areas of Persian noble settlement. It seems that lands in both these areas, and possibly the estates in Hellespontine Phrygia too, were created from lands which had come into the possession of the crown. We only have firm evidence so far for the sequestration of the *chora* of Miletus following the Ionian revolt, and the reversion to the crown of the estates of Pythes following his death shortly after Salamis. It may be that the other areas of Persian noble settlement in Lydia (the Kaïkos valley, the Hermos valley near Manisa, and the Kilbanian Plain near Hypaipa: Sekunda 1985, 11-14) were also created from lands acquired in this way, although this is not certain. I have suggested in the text that the creation of these estates, at least of those allotted after Salamis, might have been influenced by the failure of the empire to keep expanding, compounded by the demands of nobles for lands to replace those lost in Europe. Other areas of noble settlement may have been the Kolossai district (together with possibly dependant areas in east Caria), and the Uşak region. At least we have some limited evidence for a Persian noble settled at Kolossai, and we can perhaps connect the archaeological evidence at Uşak with the survival of Persian names among the gerousiasts at Sebaste. In north Phrygia we seem to have a slight scatter of evidence which more or less coincides with the course of the Royal Road, which is perhaps supported by the statement of Herodotus concerning settlement along the road. There is insufficient evidence to allow us to form any firm conclusions as to the nature of this settlement, though the dedication to the Persian Zeus at Nakoleia, and the evidence for an interest in the cult of Magna Mater at Pessinus, both indicate that the Persian presence in this area was strong.

On the other hand our study has also shown that the survival of Persian names in a particular area cannot, in itself, be taken as sufficient evidence for Persian settlement or colonization in that area during the Achaemenid period.

In the first place our study of Persian names in Lycia has, I believe, demonstrated that in this area of lower Asia at least, the local nobility tended to assume Persian noble names, most probably thanks to intermarriage, and preserved these names within their family naming-systems through the hellenistic and Roman periods. There is some evidence for this practice in Caria too, and it may also have taken place in Phrygia. Nor were these Lycian noble names borrowed from Persian families settled in Lycia itself. We might compare this with the evidence we have for Camisares, based in Caria, marrying a Paphlogonian princess, possibly of Saka or Scyth descent, or the marriage between the son of Otys of Paphlagonia and the daughter of Spithridates (Sekunda 1988a, 37-8). Thus it seems that Persian and native noble families only intermarried with partners of a similar social rank, and so would frequently marry with people from a very distant part of lower Asia. Thus if a single example of a Persian name is found in a particular locality it neither proves that the family is of Persian descent, nor does it prove that there was once a Persian noble family settled in that area with whom a local family intermarried. Furthermore, Persian names may have spread further in a secondary diffusion in the post-Achaemenid period, again most probably due to noble intermarriage. Thus when we find the name Artapates in the Tabai region, we are unable to decide whether we are dealing with the descendant of a Persian noble family settled there in the Achaemenid period, or with a local family who had acquired the name through intermarriage with a Persian noble family settled in lower Asia (and not necessarily locally) in the Achaemenid period, or with a local family who had acquired the name in the post-Achaemenid period, for example from a Lycian noble family using the name.

The evidence is further complicated by the possibility that further Iranian families established themselves in lower Asia during the post-Achaemenid period. Thus we seem to have sufficient literary evidence to postulate the existence of an Iranian family using the name Aribazos in Seleucid service in lower Asia during the hellenistic period. It is impossible to decide, however, if this family only arrived in the west during the hellenistic period itself, or if they were already based in lower Asia when they entered Seleucid service.

This makes the interpretation of inscriptions bearing the name Aribazos most difficult to interpret. Not all these later arrivals need to have been of noble status. Though 'the Village of the Kardakes' seems to have been an Achaemenid foundation rather than a Seleucid one, there may have been a considerable influx of mercenary settlers during the Seleucid period. We know that the Persian regiment under Omanes was granted *politeia* and certain other priviliges by Smyrna. Though it is not clear whether this regiment was settled permanently in the district, other Iranian regiments may have been so settled in lower Asia. Individual Iranians in mercenary units may also have settled in lower Asia. Examples of such individuals may be Blostos son of Argantabatos at Tralles, and the ancestors of Antiochus son of Boxos in Pisidia. Finally Iranian tradesmen may have settled in the new Seleucid foundations of lower Asia.

A second 'wave' of immigration, by nobles of Iranian descent, to the cities of lower Asia may have come in the first century B.C., thanks to contacts with the Cappadocian royal house. Aside from Mithridates son of Iazemis at Magnesia, the ancestors of Maiphernes at Apameia or Maiphateis at Tyriaion may have been Cappadocian. Finally there would have been a certain 'filtering through' of Iranian names to the west from Cappadocia throughout the hellenistic and imperial periods, especially in the eastern districts of Phrygia. There will also have been a natural diffusion of Iranian names established in certain areas in the Achaemenid period to the rest of lower Asia in later times. One example seems to be the spread of the name Batakes from its original home in Pessinus.

It is certain that at least a couple of 'Iranian' names, Mithridates and Mithres, were widely adopted by slaves and freedmen not of Iranian, let alone Persian noble, origins at all. Further Iranian names may have been assumed by freedmen in this way; particularly by freedmen who were obviously of oriental descent. Here one is particularly thinking of 'historical' names like Darius, Xerxes, or Cyrus, and 'royal' names like Pharnakes, Ariarathes, or Tiribazus. It may have also been the practice, however, for some freedmen to assume the rarer Iranian 'noble' names current in the area. Thus on the island of Delos, not too far removed from Magnesia where an illustrious individual named Gadatas had once received a royal letter from the mighty king Darius, we find an individual named Gadatas being paid for removing a corpse from the holy island. Thus at some point around the late 240's we find one Omanes commanding Persian regiment near Smyrna, but in 251 we find an Omaneas in command of a team of contract cleaners at Delos. The context of these inscriptions is vitally important, but in most cases all we have to work with is a bare name. If we find the name Aribazos among a list of gerousiasts at Sebaste, it might be legitimate to connect the name with the family of

Ariobazos, but what can we do with someone called Ariabazos from Laodikeia, if we have no further information as to his status?

Consequently one has to be very careful when using the survival of Iranian names as evidence for Achaemenid settlement in any particular area. We certainly know that a 'Lydo-Persian' community did survive in Lydia down to the time of Pausanias, so there is no need to be over-sceptical, but we do need to be cautious. Our examination of the Kelainai region, for example, suggests that it was one of the principal areas of Persian noble settlement in the whole of lower Asia. The disruptions of the final decades of the fourth century seem to have been so great, however, that no evidence of this settlement has survived in the form of Iranian names found in the region, if we discount the dubious examples of Mithridatianus son of Mithridates, and Maiphernes the moneyer. On the other hand we have examples of the survival of Iranian names in areas of lower Asia where Persian feet never seem to have trod.

ADDENDA

p. 107 Mr. A. Keane (Manchester University) has suggested to me that the Village of the Kardakes may be one of a series of garrison-forts established near the Carian border at Lycia during the period of Hecatomnid rule. This is an attractive suggestion and, if correct, places the village in the immediate vicinity of Telmessus. The Açipayam inscription may, therefore, be taken as an indication of Persian settlement in the region around Kolossai.

p. 115 A young men named Aribazos, based in Cnidus, is mentioned in two poems (*AP* XII.61-2) written by Meleager of Gadara shortly before 100B.C. (cf. A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) II p. 568).

ACHAEMENID INFLUENCES IN LYCIA (COINAGE, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE). EVIDENCE FOR POLITICAL CHANGES DURING THE 5th CENTURY B.C.

Jan Zahle — Copenhagen

The sparse written sources for the political situation in Lycia during the Persian period have recently been discussed by Bryce 1986, 99-114. For the following discussion the article Childs 1981 is also important.

On the one hand the Lycians contributed to Xerxes' fleet, they defeated the Athenian Melesander c. 430 B.C., and in Lycian epigraphical sources (*TL* 44, Erbbina II, Bryce 1986, 95-98, Herrenschmidt 1985) the rulers appear to be loyal Persian subjects at the end of the fifth century B.C. On the other hand they were 'subdued' by Cimon and were (at least around 450 B.C.) members of the Athenian Confederacy. Isocrates even claimed that they were never subdued by the Persians.

The contradictory written evidence can not be properly interpreted without new information, that may appear one day. Another possibility is to study the archaeological remains (coinage, architecture, sculpture), and try to distinguish and interprete the kind of evidence that illuminates the political affiliation of the ruling class, and generally the political changes during the Persian period.

The assertion below is that *the archaeological evidence* of the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. clearly reveals not only the power basis of the dynasts, but also important changes during the Persian period, characterized in general by a considerable independence at least down to the 360s.

We can at present distinguish the following phases or periods of change:

1. 540/510 B.C.: Opening up of Lycia to foreign influences. Earliest rockcut tombs of rulers. Several dynastic sites. Earliest coinage. A fairly uniform evolution and a certain unity.

2. 480/450 B.C. Concentration of power in Xanthus. The new 'monumental tomb' type. Persian motifs in the coinage and in sculpture. At the same time the coinage indicates a certain disunion between western and central/eastern Lycia.

3. Last quarter of 5th century B.C.: The coinage and sculpture reveal close Xanthian adherence to the Persians. The division between w. and c./e. Lycia firmly established.

4. Beginning of the 4th century B.C. Disintegration of Xanthian power. Several important dynastic sites in Lycia.

5. About 360 B.C.: End of period of dynastic tombs and coinage.
6. Second half of the 4th entury B.C.: Disintegration of Lycian culture.

Following a general discussion of Lycian coinage, from which a new understanding of the 5th century B.C. appears, I shall concentrate on the evidence from 480/440 B.C. and try to demonstrate the important changes in Lycian society originating from the Persian affiliation of their rulers. This phase has hardly been recognized, whereas the strong Persian influence at the end of the 5th century B.C. is at present a well established fact. For the latter period the evidence is ample: both Greek and Lycian written sources, the coinage and the sculptured tombs. For the former period, however, we have to rely on the archaeological remains besides ambiguous Greek historical information. The material evidence will be presented, although I shall not argue the dating in any detail.

I

The coinage of Lycia from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. (Fig. 1-22) has a unique character among non-Greek peoples of Anatolia because of the variety of weight-standards, types and inscriptions. Several thousand coins are known.

As a rule the obverses have a figurative motif, at first a boar-forepart or boar, but later on local types appear, and motifs or badges characteristic of cities in Caria, Ionia and northern and central Greece are copied in great numbers, whereas others are closely related to motifs on both Ionian and Persian gems and seals. On the reverses the so-called *triskeles* Fig. 6-10, 22, is so common that it has been termed a national emblem, but figurative motifs occur as well. The coinage, with its wide variety of foreign and local motifs and styles, constitutes a most interesting field of investigation for the history of Lycian culture and its external, artistic, political and also economic relations.

The coin legends mention at least forty city and personal names ('dynasts'). In some cases, both a city and a personal name occur on the same coin, but normally the weight-standard alone helps to locate the mints. Because of the relative chronology of the coins, and because of die-links, the coins are an important source for an understanding of the historical framework of the period.

In order to handle this large and highly varied coin material, several scholars have worked out classifications. They chose traits or criteria that seemed meaningful to them, and their systems naturally underwent revision concurrently with the increase of knowledge and refinement in methods. Sharpe 1841, 1847, Fellows 1855, Six 1886-87, Hill 1895, and finally Mørkholm 1964 made the now universally accepted classification, according to which the material is divided into five groups. Compared with the earlier classifications, however, his criteria, or rather, the nature of the criteria, are the same — with one exception: the new criterion of the weights. With the introduction of this new criterion, he greatly improved the classification, but at the same time apparently laid a time bomb under his neat construction. In fact, in Mørkholm - Neumann 1978, he completely ignored his own classification. Instead he presented the material on the basis of one single criterion: the weight-standards, and he discussed the coins in chronological order within each standard.

Fig. 1 shows Mørkholm's classification of 1964 to the right and for comparison Hill's and Six's. Common to all of them is the criterion of presence or absence of Lycian inscriptions. Coins of groups 2 and 3 may thus, as we shall see, be very much alike with respect to both obverse and reverse motifs, but are none the less put into different groups.

Mørkholm's group 1 (Pl. 1-3) is defined by a boar's forepart (seldom lion's head) and the incuse square without figurative representation on the reverse. It conforms with Hill's first series and Six's groups I and II.

His group 2 (Pl. 4-5), however, comprises both Hill's II. and III. series. The criterion of Hill, in which the reverse is adorned with an animal motif or with a *triskeles* respectively, Mørkholm dismissed — in my opinion correctly — with the following words: "The distinguishing mark between Series II and III being purely formal, I have preferred to combine them into one, my group 2". Also the coin hoard evidence induced Mørkholm to combine the two groups because of their contemporaneity. We may note at this point, however, that his group 2 compared with group 1 shows great diversity with respect to both figurative motifs and weights.

It was again the hoards found in Lycia and their evidence for the relative chronology that induced him to divide Hill's comprehensive series IV into two groups, nos. 3 and 4.

Group 4 (Pl. 12-18) appears very well defined. A characteristic feature of the group is the occurrence of the Attic helmeted head of Athena as either obverse or reverse type. Remarkable also is the complete absence of the *triskeles*. Moreover a study of the weights showed that all coins are of the so-called light standard, which by means of the coin inscriptions is firmly located in western Lycia. For reasons of type and weight, as well as of the chronological evidence to be gained from Lycian votive- and tomb-inscriptions, the separation of this group 4 from the earlier dynast issues is very well argued. The criteria applied are independent and definitely point to the same conclusion. But what about the older part of the dynastic issues in Hill's series IV, classified in group 3 (Pl. 6-11) by Mørkholm? By means of which criteria is this group defined?

In fact, Mørkholm gives only two arguments. 1) The group is distinct from group 2 because of the Lycian inscriptions. 2) The group is both older than and different from the characteristic group 4 coins. We may note, however, that no peculiar features constitute characteristic identifying traits. Just as in group 2, the obverses carry various figurative motifs, and the reverses may also be adorned with figurative motifs or with the *triskeles*. And just as in group 2, several weight standards are represented: the Persian, the heavy, the middle and the light (Attic) standards. We shall return later to the problems of delimitation of the two groups 2 and 3.

Mørkholm's group 5 (Pl. 19-22) conforms to Hill's series V and appears well defined. The lion's scalp is a characteristic obverse type, as is the *triskeles* on the reverse. All the coins belong to the same standard, the heavy standard, which by means of hoards and names of cities is firmly and exclusively located in central and eastern Lycia. Its dating is secured by Greek historical and Lycian epigraphic evidence.

This short survey of Mørkholm's classification has revealed its advantages over older classifications, and we may note that also his studies of die-links and style enabled him to place many coins in their proper context and to date the groups more precisely than before. For these reasons, it was universally accepted as a most useful frame of reference, not only for numismatists, but also for students of Lycian culture and history.

Since 1964, however, Mørkholm made important advances in his study of the Lycian weight standards. He established the middle standard as the earliest standard, as both antecedent to and overlapping the heavy and light standards. Because his classification of 1964 increasingly proved unequal to the new situation of the weight-standard criterion, he abandoned it in his last Lycian study (Mørkholm - Neumann 1978), where the coins, as mentioned, are presented in chronological order within the standards.

Because the classification of 1964 appears inadequate and on the other hand the weight standard as the only frame of reference obviously is too simple and unsatisfactory, we have to rethink the problem: how may we arrange the coins in the most effective way, i.e. prepare a clear classification, which at the same time may contribute to the study of the history of culture in Lycia? This implies that the criteria may not just be strictly formal ones, but can be shown to reflect the thinking and behaviour of the ancient Lycians. The following examples will explain what I consider to be valid criteria.

First, the weights: Mørkholm demonstrated that the different Lycian standards from about 450 B.C. onwards meant different areas of circulation. This means e.g. that the coins of the more or less contemporary groups 4 and 5 were used by different people in separate areas.

Secondly, clusters of motifs: The range of motifs in group 4 is completely different from the motifs of group 5, so that each area of circulation reveals quite disparate traditions and shared different ideas. The criteria of weights and motifs thus both control and corroborate each other inasmuch as they point to the same conclusion.

The last example deals with a criterion which is obviously not valid, because it does not reflect ancient behaviour. Mørkholm's groups 2 and 3 were, as already mentioned, separated on the basis of the lack or presence of inscriptions. But both the range of weights and the wide variety of motifs is common to both groups. Moreover several issues with the same obverse and reverse motifs respectively exist both with and without inscriptions and they may even be die-linked, so that they were obviously minted by the same authority. Finally, the evidence of styles and hoards also shows the groups to be contemporary.

For these reasons I consider the inscription criterion both overly formal and meaningless, and even an obstacle to a true understanding of the function of the coins in Lycian society and therefore also of the society itself.

The new classification, fig. 2, is neither radical nor difficult to explain on the basis of what I have said so far. It combines the qualities of the earlier classifications with the important evidence of the weights. I am aware, however, that a much more detailed grouping could be worked out, but only at the expense of clarity. Rather, in the future, we must work out subdivisions within the groups.

Group A (Pl. 1-3) is identical with Mørkholm's group 1. I shall only add that a study of the weights (fig. 3) reveals a fairly restricted range, that may very well be termed a standard: the middle standard.

Group C (Pl. 12-18) and *D* (Pl. 19-22) correspond to Mørkholm's groups 4 and 5. The range of the weights is restricted in each group and we may rightly keep the terms of the light and the heavy standard respectively. I have stated the arguments for the definition of the groups earlier.

My *group B* (Pl. 4-11) is made up of Mørkholm's groups 2 and 3 for the reasons I have given above. In the group B-column (fig. 3) the range of weights among the many issues is seen. It seems chaotic, was presumably also felt to be so by the Lycians, nevertheless it makes sense. The period of group B constitutes the break-down of the consensus among the rulers or mint masters and the users of the group A coins. In fact, very few issues weigh the same as other issues, but they very often overlap. Therefore in a way it makes no sense to speak of standards. But out of this disintegration emerged two new standards that after a while also developed quite different clusters or ranges of motifs, namely groups C and D. A new order was created.

The period of disintegration, 'chaos' and consolidation spans the years from about 470/60 to about 420/10 B.C. This appears from a study of all available hoards with Lycian coins, styles, and the written sources. This dating only differs to a slight degree from the previous datings of Mørkholm's groups 2 and 3.

II

The use of coinage in the 5th century B.C. is, despite its possible Lydian origin, basically a Greek phenomenon. Coinage also spread to Lycia from Greek areas: technique, fractions, style and motifs betray its origin. Even if, as mentioned, there are local and Persian motifs, the imagery of Lycian coins generally can be termed provincial Greek. This is of course not surprising considering the geographical situation of Lycia and the kind of medium.

The more remarkable are the few Achaemenid motifs and the two restricted periods of their appearence in Lycian coinage. They are with the exception of two issues from Termera (Price 1983) and the well-known satrapal coins with portraits, unique among western Asia Minor mints of the 5th century. See Mørkholm-Zahle 1972, 95-99,110 and Mørkholm-Zahle 1976, 70,79-85 for a discussion also of their varying degree of deviation from the pure Achaemenid style.

Well known are the latest of the two groups of Persian motifs depicting the tiara-clad, bearded heads of Kherêi (Pl. 14), Ddenewele and Arttumpara from the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Whether they are considered as portraits of Lycian dynasts (Zahle 1982) or of Persian satraps (Cahn 1985)[1] they testify to a close Persian affiliation. Persian satraps used (as mentioned) occasionally the same motif on their own issues. The motif in Lycia only appears on coins of the light standard, i.e. in western Lycia. No other contemporary motifs display Persian traits.

The other group of Achaemenid motifs is earlier and belongs to the period around the middle of the 5th century. They are again found on coins of the light standard *and* also of the middle standard, but *not* of the heavy standard used in central and eastern Lycia. Only four dynasts (Kuprlli, Kheriga, Teththiweibi and Tênagure) use a total of four different motifs — very few among their many, mainly Greek, motifs. There are lion-griffins (seven different representations), winged human-headed bulls, bull protomes back to back, and bull protomes.

III

The rock cut tombs are the most conspicious remains of the Lycian culture of the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. About ninehundred have been registered, partly by the French and German missions (Xanthus, Myra, Limyra), partly by Kjeldsen and Zahle (see Zahle 1980; 1983).

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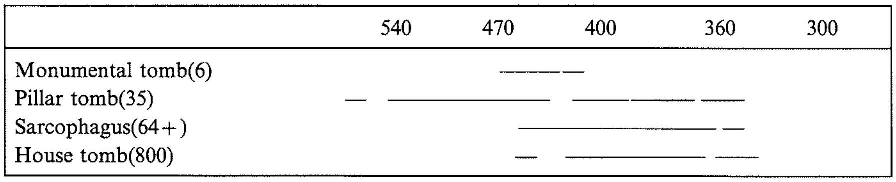
[1] See now also Zahle 1988b, Zahle 1989, and Zahle 1990a and b.

There are four different types. Their approximate numbers and periods of existence appear from the following figure (from Zahle 1983, 108, revised), where they are listed in their order of importance (discussed and argued in detail loc. cit.):



The oldest datable tombs are the pillar tombs, square, tall, massive pillars with a small chamber hollowed out in the top. From the archaic period come seven with reliefs from altogether five sites in western and central Lycia. One of these is by far the largest and the most lavishly decorated: the Harpy tomb from Xanthus of about 480/470 B.C. (British Museum B 287). Its relief frieze on all four sides is cut uniquely in Greek marble. In the depiction of an audience scene on the east side we find the first certain Achaemenid influences in Lycia: several stylistic traits underline that the inspiration for the motif definitely is Achaemenid (as first argued by Tritsch 1942).

The earliest allusion to (or reflection of) the Persian masters is thus found in a representation of a local Lycian dynast, who had himself depicted as a ruler.

About 460 B.C. the first specimen of the new tomb-type, the monumental tomb, was erected: the so-called Heroon G in Xanthus. The other ones are the Nereid Monument also in Xanthus, one in Phellos, one in Apollonia, and finally the two well known ones in Trysa and in Limyra respectively (Kjeldsen-Zahle 1976). These very large tomb buildings are lavishly decorated both architecturally and sculpturally. An analysis of their motifs confirms, what one would expect from their sheer size, namely that they are definitely rulers' tombs.

The two monumental tombs in Xanthus both display several Achaemenid influences in the pictorial representations. Heroon G (Zahle 1983, 149, Cat. A10; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 257, Cat. M4) shows among other motifs a procession of chariots and horsemen, banqueting, and an audience scene (?). And in these depictions, all centered around the ruler, we find again several antiquarian details and motifs that are Achaemenid (Bernard 1965) or at least diffused throughout the Achaemenid empire (Calmeyer 1985). In both cases they testify to Achaemenid influence in Lycia. The ruler in his chariot indeed has his closest parallel in the seated ruler on the east side of the Harpy tomb.

In these two ruler tombs, so close in date and both from Xanthus, we thus find the earliest Achaemenid stylistic influences. In time they precede or perhaps overlap the Achaemenid motifs in the west Lycian coinage.

We shall note that in the period between 500/480 and the middle of the 5th century B.C. sculptured tombs are only known from Xanthus. In the period c. 450 and c. 415 B.C. no sculptured monuments of any kind were dedicated in Lycia.

IV

Schmitt 1982a + b has collected and discussed the Persian names found in the Lycian epichoric inscriptions; Bryce 1986, 158-71 has put the evidence into perspective. There are only nine persons with definite Iranian names living in Lycia plus seven persons with names of doubtful Iranian origin. Of these sixteen, as many as ten are known to belong to the ruling class, and two more were certainly closely connected to this group of people.

There are many more persons with Greek names in Lycia, but the overwhelming majority carry indigenous Lycian names. What is very important for the present line of argument, is the fact that such a high proportion of the very few Persian names was carried by the rulers and only by them. Schmitt 1982b, 387: "Der sprachliche Einfluss des Altpersischen auf das Lykische ist minimal, und sicher erscheint dies nur bei dem administrativen Titel *Xssad/θrapa-* "Satrap". Iranische Personennamen dürften nach allem, was die Zeugnisse erkennen lassen, ebenfalls wenig verbreitet, genauer: sie dürften auf die lokalen Herrscher Lykiens, die ihre Macht direkt oder indirekt vom Perserkönig hatten, und auf deren Familien beschränkt gewesen sein."

There is only epigraphic evidence to suggest that one, perhaps two, of these sixteen persons were not Lycians. No archaeological evidence points in this direction.

V

The archaeologial (including the numismatic) evidence is interesting in many respects (including methodical ones), but here I shall confine myself to a few points only, and also refrain from a discussion of the results of the investigation in its extra-Lycian historical context.

Achaemenid influence is found in the sculptures in Xanthus of about 480-460 B.C. and in the coinage sligthly later. These are the only known Achaemenid influences in Lycia before the end of the fifth century B.C.

except for certain names of dynasts. Because these influences are confined to the representations of the dynasts, and the coinage is certainly also a very official medium, the combined evidence strongly suggests, that the power of the dynasts at this time was closely connected to the Persian satrapal administration.

The huge size of the Harpy tomb, the nearly contemporaneous creation of the new prestigious and costly 'monumental tomb', together with the distinct Achaemenid influences in these tombs, strongly suggest radical social changes within Lycian society: a new 'superélite' that almost certainly came to power due to Persian interference in Lycia. It served and, at the same time, profited from the Persian connection. In Zahle 1983 (108f.) I have discussed this and argued that the new élite was recruited among the members of the already important families, that had themselves buried in the pillar tombs.

In the same period that the concentration of power took place in Xanthus, the breakdown of consensus among the issuers of coins suggests internal conflicts in Lycia (coin group B). Nearly every dynast chose his own 'standard', and only at the end of the century a new order reappears, with Lycia divided into two separate areas of coin circulation.

Against this background, I believe, we can explain the contradictory evidence from the above mentioned archaeological material on the one side and the Greek written sources on the other. These latter suggest in a general way, that Lycia in the period about 465 (Cimon) down to at least about 440 B.C. was subject to Athenian political influence.

This can hardly be taken too literally. On the contrary the Xanthian evidence points to closer ties with the Persians — a kind of counter weight to Greek political interference in Lycia (or rather: Greek action against the loyal Lycian followers of the Persians). The disunity in Lycia may be due to conflicts between two opposing groups that — either under compulsion or voluntarily — sided with the Greeks or the Persians respectively.

Xanthus, certainly from at least 480/470 B.C., was a stronghold for Persian influence in Lycia. From inscriptions (*TL* 44 and Erbbina I+II) we know of at least five, perhaps six, generations of the ruling Xanthian dynasty. At the end of the fifth century B.C. its members were certainly loyally on the side of the Persians. I hope to have demonstrated, by means of the archaeological evidence, that they were so already from the time of Xerxes. At least from this time on we have factual evidence for Persian influence in Lycia, as late as about sixty years after its subjugation by Persia.

	Six Group		Hill Series		Mørkholm Group	
Without Lycian inscriptions.	I 520-480	Reverse incuse without figurative motif	I 520-480	Reverse incuse without figurative motif	1 520-480	Reverse incuse without figurative motif
	II 5.Cent.	Reverse incuse without figurative motif				
	III 5.Cent.	Motif on both sides	II 500-460	Animal motif on both sides	2 500-440	Motif on both sides
			III 500-450	Reverse triskeles		
With Lycian inscriptions	IV 450-400	Reverse Triskeles	IV 480-390	Main series of cities and dynasts	3 460-420	Earlier dynasts and cities
	V 400-360 (360-335)	Reverse without triskeles			4 425-360	Later dynasts and cities The Athena group Light weight standard
	VI 394-365	Obverse lion scalp	V 410-362	Latest coins, mainly lion scalp	5 400-360	Later dynasts and cities Heavy weight standard

FIG. 1 A simplified correlation and comparison between the classification of Lycian coins by J.-P. Six 1886/87, G.F. Hill 1895 and O. Mørkholm 1964.

Mørkholm	Zahle		
Group 1	Group A	Type:	obverse boar, reverse incuse
		Weight standard:	middle standard
		Inscriptions:	few coins with Greek or Lycian letters
		Chronology:	c. 510/500 - 480/470 B.C.
		Area of circulation:	a part of or whole Lycia
Group 2 + 3	Group B	Type:	diversity of obverse and reverse types
		Weight standard:	issues in various weight intervals
		Inscriptions:	many with Lycian letters or name of issuer and/or city
		Chronology:	480/470 - 425/400 B.C.
		Area of circulation:	western, central and eastern Lycia (Milyas?)
Group 4	Group C	Type:	head of Athena (Maliya) characteristic
		Weight standard:	light standard
		Inscriptions:	name of issuer and/or city in Lycian
		Chronology:	430/420 - 370/360 B.C.
		Area of circulation:	western Lycia
Group 5	Group D	Type:	lion's scalp on obverse, triskeles on reverse characteristic
		Weight standard:	heavy standard
		Inscriptions:	name of issuer and/or city in Lycian
		Chronology:	c. 400 - 370/360 B.C.
		Area of circulation:	central and eastern Lycia (Milyas?)

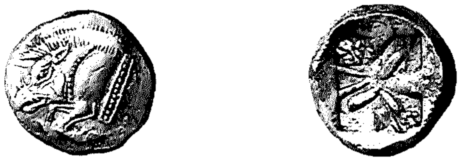
FIG. 2 Mørkholm's classification (1964) of Lycian coins and the modified arrangement of Zahle, together with a summary of criteria and conclusions from the discussion of the groups p. 146ff.

Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
	10.50 - 11.00		
	9.60 - 10.00		9.75 - 9.90
	9.75 - 9.90		9.70 - 9.80
	9.55 - 9.75		9.60 - 9.70
9.50 - 9.70	9.40 - 9.70		
9.20 - 9.50	9.20 - 9.50		
9.10 - 9.30	9.00 - 9.30		
	8.70 - 9.10		
	8.20 - 8.60		
	8.10 - 8.40	8.10 - 8.50	
		7.70 - 7.90	

FIG. 3 The weights of Lycian coins in Groups A-D.

1

2



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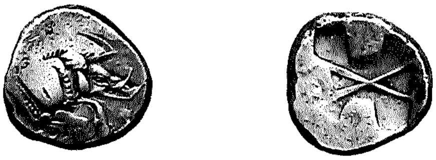

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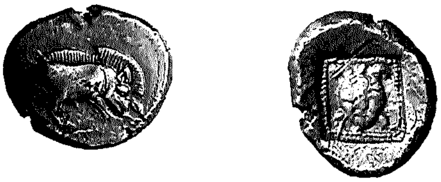

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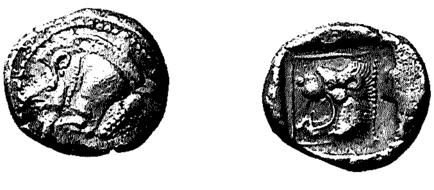

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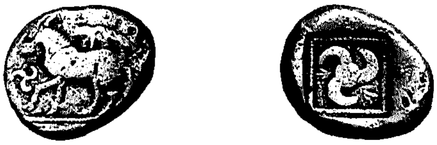

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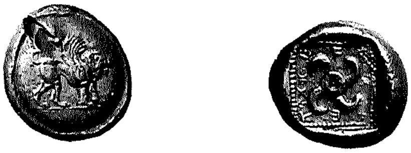

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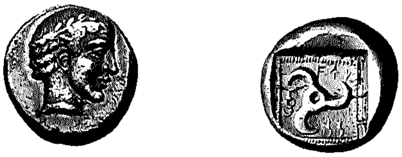

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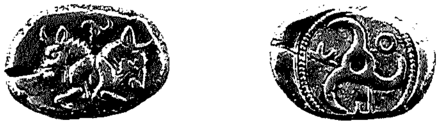

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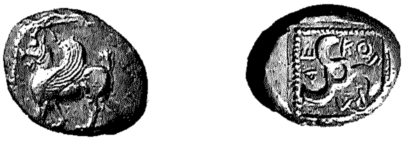

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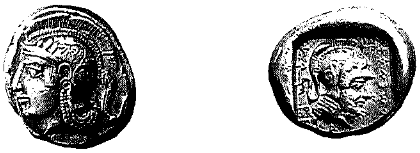

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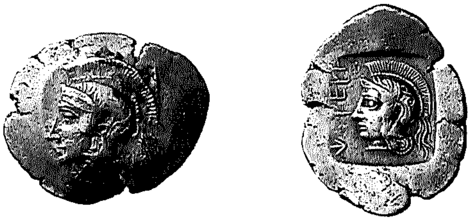

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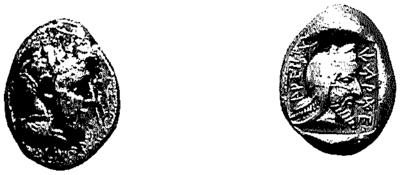

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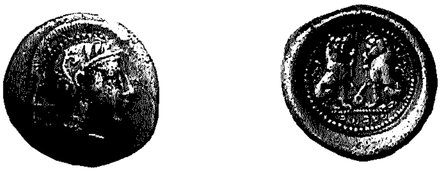

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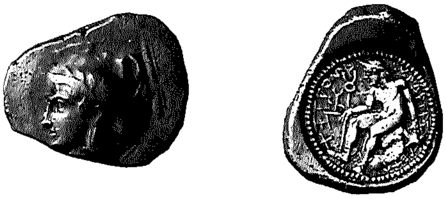

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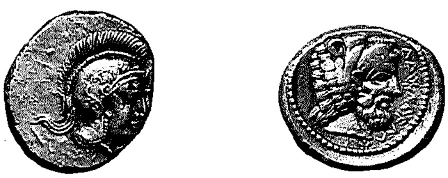

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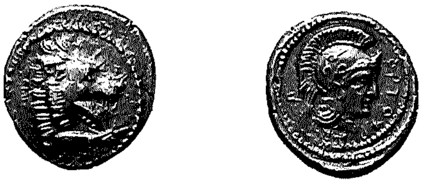

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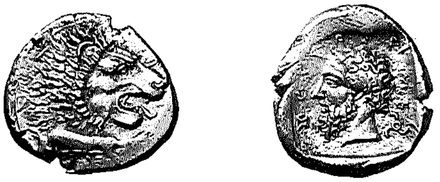

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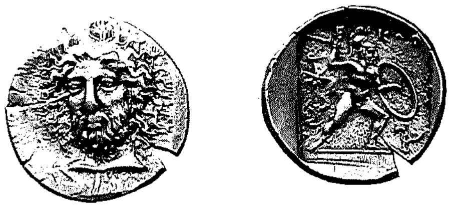

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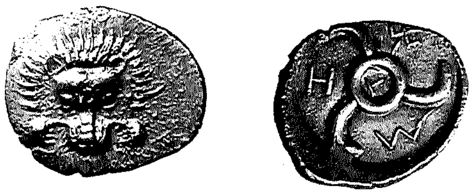

Group A

Fig. 1. 9.19 gr. Ca.500 BC.

Fig. 2. 9.23 gr. Ca.480 BC.

Fig. 3. 8.33 gr. Ca.480 BC.

Group B

Fig. 4. 9.07 gr. Ca.460 BC.

Fig. 5. 9.37 gr. Ca.460 BC.

Fig. 6. 9.43 gr. Ca.460 BC. Perhaps minted in Kandyba in central Lycia.

Fig. 7. 8.55 gr. Ca.450 BC. Minted by Teththiweibi in western Lycia.

Fig. 8. 8.41 gr. Ca.450 BC. Minted by Wekhssere I in western Lycia.

Fig. 9. 8.59 gr. Ca.440 BC. Minted by Kuprlli in western Lycia.

Fig. 10. 8.69 gr. Ca.430 BC. Minted by Kuprlli (in central Lycia?).

Fig. 11. 3.21 gr. Ca.430 BC. Minted by Kheriga in Phellos in central Lycia.

Group C

Fig. 12. 8.48 gr. Ca.420 BC. Minted by Kheriga in Tymnessos in western Lycia.

Fig. 13. 8.30 gr. Ca.420 BC. Minted by Keriga in Kandyba in central Lycia.

Fig. 14. 8.45 gr. Ca.410 BC. Minted by Kherei in Xanthos in western Lycia.

Fig. 15. 8.31 gr. Ca.410 BC. Minted by Wakhssere Ddimi in Tlos in western Lycia.

Fig. 16. 8.58 gr. Ca.390 BC. Minted by Hntruma in Kadyanda in western Lycia.

Fig. 17. 8.53 gr. Ca.390 BC. Minted by Ddenewele in Telmessos in western Lycia.

Fig. 18. 8.31 gr. Ca.380 BC. Minted by Arttumpara in western Lycia.

Group D

Fig. 19. 9.84 gr. Ca.380 BC. Minted by Mithrapata in Phellos in centre Lycia.

Fig. 20. 1.16 gr. Ca.380 BC. Minted by Perikle in Rhodiapolis? in eastern Lycia.

Fig. 21. 9.70 gr. Ca.380 BC. Minted by Perikle in Phellos in central Lycia.

Fig. 22. 9.58 gr. Ca.380 BC. Minted in Limyra in eastern Lycia.

(Nos. 2,3: The Keckman Collection, Skop Bank, Helsinki. No. 9: The Hunterian Collection, Glasgow. No. 17:?. Nos. 19,21: Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The rest: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, The National Museum, Copenhagen).

PRESENCE ET INFLUENCE PERSES A CHYPRE

Thierry Petit — Athens

Apprécier les effets d'une domination étrangère sur une communauté humaine n'est déjà pas chose aisée si l'on se réfère à des situations contemporaines bien documentées. Procéder de même pour l'histoire antique, dans une région peu favorisée par l'historiographie, est sensiblement plus difficile encore. Quand, de surcroît, la civilisation du peuple conquérant reste elle-même mal connue, cela tient de la gageure. Pourtant il m'a paru que le moment était venu de faire le point sur ce que nous savons de la présence perse à Chypre, des conséquences de cette occupation sur son histoire, sa culture, sa civilisation matérielle.

On tentera donc de répondre aux questions suivantes:

A) existait-il dans l'île des centres de diffusion de la civilisation iranienne (garnisons, colonies militaires ou de peuplement, communautés marchandes, etc.);

B) observe-t-on des traces d'influence iranienne sur les différents domaines de la civilisation chypriote, dans les sources tant historiques qu'archéologiques;

C) les deux siècles de pouvoir achéménide ont-ils eu des conséquences sur l'histoire politique et économique des cités, en dehors même de tout processus d'acculturation.

A) Dans l'organisation des provinces impériales, Chypre dépendait de la cinquième des 'satrapies' décrites par Hérodote qui sont en réalité, comme l'on sait, des districts fiscaux. En l'occurrence, il semble qu'il coïncide avec la satrapie d'Ebir Nâri des sources cunéiformes ou d'Abar Naharâ des textes bibliques, qui regroupait les territoires syriens (à l'ouest de l'Euphrate), phénicien, cilicien,[1] palestinien et chypriote (Hdt. III 91). Le chef-lieu administratif de cette province était selon toute vraisemblance Sidon (D.S. XVI 41,2; Elayi 1980, 25-26; 1987, 6-7). La présence sur l'île d'une cour et d'une administration satrapique est donc exclue. Nous n'avons pas non plus mention d'un 'hyparque' subordonné au satrape et qui eût été affecté au gouvernement de Chypre.[2]

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[1] Il est probable que, bien avant le satrapat de Mazée sur la Transeuphratène et la Cilicie (*BMC.Cilicia*, LXXXIII), celle-ci, quoique administrée à l'échelon local par une dynastie autochtone (celle des Syennésis), relevait de la satrapie syrienne.

[2] Pour les hyparques, voir par ex., Thuc. VIII 16,3; VIII 31,2; 87,1-3; VIII 108,3.

L'administration des principautés chypriotes était aux mains des dynasties locales. Outre la livraison sur injonction impériale d'un contingent de navires (Hdt. III 19; VI 6; VII 90; D.S. XI 60,5; 75,2; XIV 39, 1-2; 98,3; XVII 48,3; Plut. *de Herod. malig.* 24 (861 b-c)), la principale obligation qui incombait à chaque cité était le versement régulier du tribut dont le montant était fixé sur la base d'un cadastre précis (*RTP*, 191-4; Stolper 1985, 29-31; Descat 1985).

Diodore rapporte que, en 478, Pausanias, le vainqueur de Platées, prit la tête de la flotte coalisée et fit voile vers Chypre, où il libéra celles des cités qui avaient encore des garnisons perses, puis, vogua vers l'Hellespont et prit Byzance qui était tenue par des Perses (D.S. XI 44, 2). Le récit de Thucydide diffère quelque peu: «Ils [les Grecs] s'en furent attaquer Chypre qu'ils soumirent en grande partie, puis Byzance qui était aux mains des Mèdes, et dont ils s'emparèrent après un siège sous son [Pausanias] commandement» (Thuc. I 94, 2). Malgré le silence de Thucydide sur les garnisons de Chypre, le témoignage de Diodore ne paraît pas devoir être écarté.[3]

En 450,[4] lorsque Cimon, pour la seconde fois, conduisit une expédition contre Chypre, il mit le siège devant Salamine où, dit Diodore, «il y avait une importante garnison perse et (...) la ville était abondamment pourvue en armes défensives et offensives de toutes sortes et aussi en blé et ressources de toutes espèces» (D.S. XII 4, 1: trad. M. Casevitz).[5] A en croire Diodore, Salamine serait, à ce moment, la seule ville gardée par une force perse.[6] Entre 478 et 450, le système défensif chypriote aurait donc été modifié. Il est possible qu'après 478, les Perses, échaudés par la prise de plusieurs cités, aient préféré concentrer leurs troupes à Salamine. Mais il serait hasardeux d'en dire plus à partir de ces seuls témoignages: d'une part, les récits de Diodore, de Thucydide et de Plutarque, non seulement sont entre eux inconciliables, mais posent isolément des problèmes d'interprétation;[7] d'autre part, ceci ne préjuge en rien de la situation avant 478, ni après 450.

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[3] Chez Thucydide, qui s'occupe peu des affaires orientales, la mention d'une conquête par Pausanias d'une grande partie de Chypre suffit peut-être à sous-entendre qu'elle était aussi 'aux mains des Mèdes', ce qui ne va pas de soi pour Byzance, une des rares places 'européennes' à n'avoir pas été évacuée par les Perses à ce moment (avec Eion: Hdt. VII 107).

[4] Sur les problèmes de chronologie de la Pentécontaétie, voir dernièrement Schreiner 1976 et 1977.

[5] D.S. XII 4,1 parle de 'satrape à Chypre', mais c'est un abus de langage: il s'agit d'Artabaze et de Mégabyze, les généraux de l'armée perse opposée à Cimon.

[6] Les sièges de Marion et de Kition sont mentionnés sans référence à une garnison étrangère: Thuc. I 112,3-4; D.S. XII 3-4. Contrairement à Hammond 1967, 302-303. Cf. Gjerstad 1948, 483: tout d'abord c'est l'auteur qui postule ['probably'] l'introduction de ce système vers 497 et sa pérennité sur un demi siècle. Ensuite les événements nombreux et importants dont Chypre fut le théâtre ont fort bien pu modifier le système perse de défense dans l'île. Il est probable que les sièges de Marion et de Kition furent, sinon exactement synchroniques, du moins immédiatement successifs. Il n'y a pas de raison de douter de la véracité du témoignage de Diodore, d'après Ephore sans doute (celui-ci d'ailleurs utilisant peut-être une Atthis: cf. Busolt 1897, 340). Les événements chypriotes qui précèdent la mort de Cimon nous sont connus par des versions assez différentes, voire contradictoires: Schreiner 1976, 19-63 et 1977, 19-38. L'épigramme reproduite (1976, 19) et qui cite de nombreux 'Mèdes' tués à Chypre fait sans aucun doute allusion à une victoire navale athénienne (1976, 19-25).

Il faut ici faire intervenir un document important mais d'interprétation délicate. La tablette d'Idalion est le plus long texte en grec chypriote syllabique qui nous soit parvenu (Masson 1983, no. 217). Il fait état d'une convention passée entre le roi d'Idalion Stasikypros, d'une part, le médecin Onasilas et ses frères, d'autre part, lors d'événements qui sont ainsi décrits: «Quand les Mèdes et les gens de Kition assiégeaient la ville d'Idalion...». La date de cet épisode proposée par Gjerstad fut généralement acceptée: 478-470 (Gjerstad 1948, 479 n.5; cf. Karageorghis 1982, 159; Masson 1983, 238), bien que certains auteurs préfèrent placer l'épisode vers 450-445 (Spyridakis 1935, 42; Hill 1940, 153-155). Depuis, se fondant sur la numismatique, Gjerstad est revenu sur cette datation et suggère, pour le règne de Stasikypros, les dates de 510-495, faisant ainsi remonter le siège à l'année 498 (Gjerstad 1979, 240 n. 1). Sans se prononcer sur la légitimité du raisonnement de Gjerstad (mise en cause par Maier 1985, 34 n.10), on peut, pour d'autres raisons, placer avantageusement le siège à l'époque qui suivit immédiatement la défaite d'Onésilos face aux forces d'Artybios en 498.

Dans la mesure où elles sont crédibles — ce qui n'est pas sûr vu les circonstances obscures de la trouvaille (Hill 1940, 153-155), les données stratigraphiques de la découverte du texte d'Idalion plaident plutôt pour une date haute. La datation repose, en effet, sur la présence de tessons de la classe V et la presque absence de représentants de la classe VI.[8] Or, contrairement à ce que dit Gjerstad, ceci n'incite pas à placer la découverte au Cypro-Classique I (ca.475-ca.411) mais plutôt, d'après ses propres conclusions céramologiques (Gjerstad 1948, 203), dans la seconde partie du Cypro-Archaïque IIB: à une époque où la classe V est prédominante, assez tard pour que le type IV ait entièrement disparu, mais suffisamment tôt pour que la classe VI ne soit presque pas représentée. C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'il concluait (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 625-626): les niveaux 6A et B sont de ca.500. Je crains que ce soient les seuls critères de 'vraisemblance' historique qui, en la circonstance, l'aient conduit à modifier son appréciation chronologique.

Mais, surtout, un autre argument me paraît peser de tout son poids: c'est la présence de 'Mèdes' parmi les assaillants. A mon sens, elle indique que nous n'avons pas affaire à un conflit de portée locale.

Les sources disponibles montrent d'une part qu'il n'existait aucune implantation militaire perse dans l'île (voir *infra*), d'autre part que les Perses n'intervenaient pas dans les luttes entre principautés ou entre cités,[9] sinon lorsque leur hégémonie était menacée (les attestations de semblables expéditions sont rares tout au long de l'histoire achéménide: voir *infra*). Pour qu'ils prissent l'initiative d'un siège d'Idalion, il fallait que l'affaire les concernât directement. Puisque une datation basse (IVe siècle) semble définitivement exclue (Masson 1983, 238), il ne reste, au Ve siècle, que la révolte de 499/8 qui mette en scène à la fois une révolte de Chypre contre l'autorité achéménide, la présence de troupes perses dans l'île (les forces d'Artybios) et le siège des cités chypriotes.

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[7] On doit peut-être réorganiser ces textes comme le suggère Schreiner 1976 et 1977. Cependant ses tentatives ne résolvent pas tous les problèmes.

[8] 2 tessons: Gjerstad 1948, 479 n.5: "...exclusively of Type V and only two sherds of Type VI occur".

On sait, en effet, par Hérodote (V 115), que les Perses entreprirent alors le siège de toutes les cités chypriotes qui s'étaient jointes à la révolte d'Ionie.[10] Ils durent probablement investir Kition, ville côtière, et la prendre, enrôlant au passage une force kitienne, avant de pénétrer plus avant dans les terres et soumettre Idalion (et peut-être Tamassos?). La présence d'auxiliaires de Kition aux côtés des Perses n'a donc rien d'incongru. La rampe de siège érigée en 498/7 par les assaillants contre la muraille de Paphos, et fouillée par Maier, a d'ailleurs livré des armes grecques dont un casque corinthien, indice de la présence d'auxiliaires locaux (Snodgrass 1984, en particulier 48). Dans le binôme 'Mèdes'-Kitiens, c'est donc le premier terme qui est important pour comprendre et situer l'épisode dont il est question.[11]

Sans que le raisonnement soit toujours explicite, on tire argument de la présence du roi Stasikypros sur le trône d'Idalion après le siège pour conclure que celui-ci fut un échec. Si l'interprétation proposée ici est exacte, la chose n'est pas assurée. En effet, il ne semble pas que les Perses, à la suite de la vague de répression de 498 et de la soumission de toutes les cités, aient écarté les dynastes alors régnant (pour la bibliographie sur cette question, voir Masson 1983, 238). Cependant les Perses durent affecter dans chaque ville un contingent militaire destiné à la maintenir dans l'obéissance. Mais, avant cette date, aucune force d'occupation n'est mentionnée à Chypre.[12]

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[9] Voir notamment l'exemple bien documenté du conflit qui éclata entre les Juifs et leurs voisins, à l'occasion de la reconstruction des murailles de Jérusalem (voir *infra* n. 24) et aussi la domination qu'imposa Evagoras sur Chypre, Mausole sur la Carie (Hornblower 1982, 107-137), Datame sur la Cappadoce, Pixodaros sur la Lycie (Metzger 1975, 87-88), Mania sur l'Eolide (Xen. *Hell.* III 1,13).

[10] Pour les traces archéologiques spectaculaires du siège à Paphos, voir par ex. Maier et Karageorghis 1984, 192-203; pour Idalion: cf. Maier 1985, 34.

[11] De récents travaux ont montré qu'il fallait faire un sort à la théorie selon laquelle les Chypriotes de race phénicienne auraient été les agents 'asiatiques' de l'impérialisme achéménide, 'barbare', face à l'hellénisme des cités grecques de Chypre (Seibert 1976, 28; Maier 1985, 39).

[12] Gjerstad 1948, 483: "the system probably introduced after the revolt in 499/8 B.C."; et 479 n. 2: "We do not know on which occasion these garrisons were stationed in Cypriot cities. It may have been after the failure of the revolt in 498 B.C. or after the battle of Salamis (...). However the existence of these garrisons confirms that the Persian domination of Cyprus was much firmer than before and also based on military bases of support".

Les indices abondent qui montrent cette absence de toute force perse dans l'île. Entre 530 et 525 (Chamoux 1953, 150-151), Phérétimé, mère d'Arcesilas III de Cyrène, trouva refuge auprès d'Evelthon de Salamine. Pendant que son fils s'activait à Samos, elle sollicitait sans cesse de son hôte le don d'une armée pour reconquérir le pouvoir (Hdt. IV 162). Evelthon disposait donc de forces considérables et était réputé avoir latitude d'en user à sa guise. Plus tard, à Salamine, l'éviction de Gorgos par Onésilos n'entraîna aucune réaction perse (Hdt. V 104). Le roi déchu trouva refuge 'chez les Mèdes', c'est-à-dire très probablement sur le continent.

Plus significative encore est l'aisance avec laquelle Onésilos put fomenter, en étroite relation avec les Ioniens, le soulèvement de Chypre en 499/8. Toutes les villes à l'exception d'Amathonte se rallièrent à lui. Les renforts destinés à soutenir la résistance amathousienne et à pacifier l'île vinrent de Cilicie (Hdt. V 104-105; 108-116). S'il s'était trouvé dans l'île des forces perses, elles n'auraient pas manqué de se manifester à cette occasion.

Après la paix de Callias, les mêmes dispositions prévalent. Vers 411, Evagoras, rejeton de la famille Teucride, par un coup d'état audacieux contre l'usurpateur phénicien, se jucha sur le trône de ses pères (Hill 1940, 127 et références; Karageorghis 1982, 163). A en croire Isocrate, le coup de force fut le fait de cinquante conjurés seulement (*Evagoras* 28). Ce détail et la description que nos sources donnent de l'événement laissent penser que, pas plus que la prise de pouvoir par Onésilos, il n'aurait pu avoir lieu dans une ville placée sous la garde de troupes perses (voir en particulier Isoc. *Evag.* 26-28; D.S. XIV 98,1). De la même manière, lorsque, dans les années qui précédèrent la réaction perse de 390, Evagoras entreprit de se soumettre toute l'île, il ne rencontra, semble-t-il, aucune opposition du pouvoir perse; et l'échec de son projet n'est dû qu'à la résistance des rois de Kition, Amathonte et Soloi (D.S. XIV 98,1).[13] En 390, Artaxerxès répondit à l'appel des trois cités menacées et dépêcha une armée. Celle-ci, partant de Cilicie, aborda dans l'île: nulle part il n'est fait état d'une jonction avec un corps de troupes basé à Chypre.[14]

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[13] Cet Agyris est probablement l'Anaxagoras de Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F30,72: voir, Hill 1940, 129 n. 7. D'autre part, le Satibarzane du fragment 30,73 ne peut être un hyparque préposé à Chypre, mais, selon toute vraisemblance, l'ambassadeur envoyé par le roi auprès d'Evagoras.

[14] Le corps expéditionnaire connaît une disette inquiétante qui suscite des troubles. Tiribaze et Orontès ne s'appuient pas sur des places fortes occupées par les leurs ni sur les cités alliées, Kition ou Amathonte, proches pourtant de Salamine. Au contraire, leur principal souci est de maintenir la communication avec la Cilicie, base d'opérations et de ravitaillement (D.S. XV 3,3: pour le rôle de la Cilicie, voir Petit 1988b, n. 29). Diodore rapporte que, peu après, la flotte royale mit la voile vers Kition et que, chemin faisant, elle dut croiser devant Salamine, ce dont profita Evagoras pour forcer le combat (D.S. XV 3,4-6); c'est donc qu'elle ne s'y était pas installée dès son arrivée dans l'île, que son transfert à Kition ainsi que celui des forces terrestres eut lieu bien plus tard (D.S. XV 3,4; 4,1) et qu'elle se trouvait jusqu'alors en un point de la côte au nord de Salamine. L'infanterie, quant à elle, devait être concentrée près de la côte dans la plaine de Salamine (D.S. XVI 4,2); même situation en 351/0 (D.S. XVI 42,8).

Plus tard, lors de la 'grande révolte des satrapes', alors que toute l'Asie occidentale est soulevée contre le roi et que les combats font rage, aucun incident ne semble survenir à Chypre. Apparemment les cités insulaires ne se joignirent pas aux rebelles;[15] ceux-ci ne lancent aucune opération contre elle. S'il s'était trouvé dans l'île des forces perses, disposant de la flotte des cités, elles eussent à coup sûr joué un rôle militaire qui aurait trouvé écho dans nos sources, et les chefs rebelles n'auraient eu de cesse d'assurer leur main-mise sur l'île avant de lancer plus à l'est d'audacieuses expéditions (Judeich 1892, 208). En revanche, en 351/0 (D.S. XVI 40,3sqq.; 344 selon Beloch 1923, 285-7 cf. Hill 1940, 146 et n.5), Chypre s'associe à la révolte menée contre Ochos, sans qu'il leur soit fait dans l'île aucune difficulté[16] (D.S. XVI 42,4). Enfin, lorsqu'en 333 Alexandre, vainqueur de Darius, paraît en Phénicie, les rois de Chypre viennent à Sidon lui faire spontanément allégeance avec 120 navires (Plut. *Alex.* 24; Q. C. III 11 sqq.; Arr. II 20,3), comblant ainsi tous les voeux et réalisant les prévisions du Macédonien. Selon un paragraphe d'Arrien, Alexandre consacre toutes ses forces à la conquête de la Phénicie, estimant qu'ensuite l'île se rallierait (Arr. II 17,3): il agit donc comme s'il savait qu'aucune force perse ne risquait de lui aliéner le parti chypriote et que les dynastes avaient toute liberté de choisir leur camp.

L'onomastique iranienne est presque totalement absente de l'épigraphie chypriote. Une inscription provenant de la nécropole de Marion, rédigée en écriture chypriote syllabique, cite un certain *zo-pu-ro-se*, anthroponyme que Masson propose d'identifier à *Zôpyros* (Masson 1983, no. 28). L'autre est une inscription grecque d'époque impériale qui cite un certain Orontas, fils d'Orontas, gymnasiarque à Lapéthos (Hadjiioannou 1980, no. 195). Il existe aussi une mention d'époque ptolémaïque d'un certain *Agathoclès Makrônos Persès* (Nicolaou 1984, A4). De même une stèle funéraire de Kition donne la généalogie d'un certain 'RS dont tous les aïeux portent des noms phéniciens à l'exception de deux PRSY ('le Perse'); tous étaient 'chefs des courtiers' (RB SRSRM). Il ne s'agit pas là nécessairement d'un ethnique: comme le note Guzzo Amadasi (1978, 22), «... on a supposé que la famille elle-même pouvait être, à l'origine étrangère (...), mais on peut tout aussi bien penser que ce surnom de 'Perse' avait été donné au premier 'chef des courtiers' (...), parce qu'il était lié, par sa fonction officielle, à l'empire achéménide».

Tout cela, on le concédera, est bien mince pour y déceler une présence significative et/ou durable d'une communauté iranienne à l'époque achéménide; a fortiori si l'on prend en compte la richesse de l'onomastique iranienne dans les inscriptions lyciennes (Robert 1966, 31 et 32; pour d'autres régions: *ibid*, 31 n.8). L'épigraphie chypriote a beau être, dans l'ensemble, assez pauvre et ne pas permettre de ce fait un recensement significatif, elle n'en fournit pas moins des indices, dont certains de caractère négatif, qui confirment le silence des sources littéraires. Ainsi, par exemple, certaines stèles phéniciennes de Kition présentent un vivant tableau d'une population bigarrée où apparaissent des anthroponymes à consonance phénicienne et grecque, bien sûr, mais aussi hébraïque, hittite même, mais où l'on ne décèle pas un seul nom iranien (Hadjisavvas *et al.* 1984, 101-116).

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[15] D.S. XV 90,2-4, qui énumère les satrapies, les dynastes et les peuples soulevés, ne cite pas les rois, ni les cités de Chypre. Il précise même (XVI 42,8) qu'en 351/0 Chypre était en paix depuis longtemps. Pour la datation, voir Judeich 1892, 191-220; à compléter par Osborne 1973, 515-551.

[16] Aucune allusion n'est faite à une présence perse à Chypre, ce qui contraste d'autant plus éloquemment avec ce que Diodore rapporte peu auparavant de la situation à Sidon: D.S. XVI 41.

Même constat pour les témoignages (ou l'absence de témoignages) archéologiques. Dans plusieurs provinces de l'empire ont été découvertes des tombes dites 'à ciste' (Stern 1982, 73 et 84-86), dont le matériel, qui se distingue nettement de celui mis à jour dans d'autres sépultures, permet néanmoins de les situer à l'époque achéménide.[17] On en trouve en Palestine, Syrie, Mésopotamie et Iran (Stern 1982, 73-76; 84-86 et bibliographie). Selon Stern (qui se rallie aux opinions de Culican et de Moorey), leur matériel[18] autorise à les attribuer à des militaires iraniens en poste dans les provinces (Stern 1982, 92; Stern 1984, 93-94 et 113). Si ces déductions se vérifient, il est probable, comme le suggère l'exemple bien documenté d'Eléphantine, que, dans ces garnisons, seuls l'état-major et certains officiers étaient iraniens (Grelot 1972, 45; cf. Stern 1982, 92). Une des tombes de Tell el-Far'ah aurait même abrité la dépouille du commandant de la citadelle (Stern 1982, 92).[19]

Il est remarquable, à cet égard, que, comme le note Stern, «... several examples of cist tombs of the eastern type (...) were discovered in Phoenicia and Palestine (none in Cyprus) a fact that is of significance». La diffusion vers l'ouest de ce type de sépulture n'a donc pas dépassé la Palestine (Stern 1982, 91 et tableau. cf. Stern 1984, 94 et Weippert 1988, 706). Bien sûr, en archéologie, on ne peut tirer de conclusions du silence des sources,[20] mais les nécropoles des principales cités de Chypre sont à présent assez bien connues (Amathonte, Kition, Marion, Paphos, Salamine). Cette dernière indication archéologique constitue avec les témoignages littéraires et épigraphiques un faisceau d'indices, si l'on peut dire, 'en creux' qui, quelle que soit la forme d'organisation envisagée — garnisons urbaines,[21] garnisons de la *chora* (voir *RTP*, 189-90),[22] ou *haṭru*[23] — paraît exclure, dans l'état actuel de la documentation, toute implantation militaire perse à Chypre.

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[17] Quoiqu'elles soient peut-être d'origine mésopotamienne: on en trouve, en effet, dès l'époque néo-babylonienne dans cette région (Stern 1982, 85).

[18] On n'y trouve aucun vase attique; mais surtout des armes et des objets en métal de style achéménide: Stern 1982, 94 et 74 fig.89-91; 84 et fig.98.

[19] Stern 1982, 92. Il convient cependant d'être prudent: dans une des tombes à ciste de Gezer, une femme était ensevelie (p.73); était-elle l'épouse d'un officier iranien?

[20] Il est clair que le hasard des trouvailles pourrait être incriminé: par exemple, on n'a pas découvert, à ma connaissance et à en croire Stern, de telles tombes dans les fouilles de villes pourtant réputées avoir abrité d'importantes garnisons perses, comme Memphis, Eléphantine, Sardes etc.

De ceci on peut conclure que la défense du territoire ainsi que la levée du tribut impérial incombaient aux roitelets chypriotes (cf. Gjerstad 1948, 483). Les garnisons urbaines étaient dès lors aux ordres du roi ou de l'un de ses familiers, à l'instar de ce qui apparaît dans d'autres principautés de l'empire.[24]

Toutefois, cela ne revient pas à dire qu'il n'y eut pas de Perses dans l'île. Des fonctionnaires du fisc et du cadastre,[25] des ambassadeurs, des observateurs permanents ou semi-permanents auprès des royaumes ont dû exister; les nombreuses réquisitions de navires auxquelles furent astreintes les cités ont dû entraîner de fréquents passages ou séjours d'officiers perses; mais il ne s'agit pas là d'implantations qui seraient de nature à engendrer un processus d'acculturation auprès des dynastes ou de la population.[26]

Deux corollaires de cette situation militaire sont à rappeler:

1) Lorsque des troubles surviennent à Chypre qui compromettent l'hégémonie achéménide sur l'île, le roi doit dépêcher des forces navales et de l'infanterie de marine pour rétablir l'ordre.

2) En cas de conflit régional, Chypre n'a d'autre issue que de rallier le parti qui impose sa domination sur l'Asie occidentale.

Chypre est la clef de la Méditerranée orientale. C'est là un adage bien connu (déjà D.S. XIV 98,3; cf. Parker 1976, 33; Yon 1985, 49; Miller 1985, 23-25). Les récits historiques attestent néanmoins qu'il était peu avantageux pour les Perses d'installer sur l'île des garnisons qui, en temps de guerre, risquaient d'être coupées de leur base continentale, sans être à même de tenir l'île. Ils choisirent plutôt de s'assurer l'hégémonie sur les mers qui baignaient l'île et, conséquemment, sur toutes les côtes de l'Asie Mineure et de la Phénicie, de la Palestine et de l'Egypte. Ainsi les termes de la proposition de Hauben — «For every power aspiring to a measure of thalassocracy in the Eastern Mediterranean control of Cyprus was a *conditio sine qua non*» (Hauben 1987, 214; cf. Gjerstad 1948, 479) — pourraient être inversés. Contrôlez les côtes qui font face à Chypre, toutes les côtes, et l'île vous sera donnée en sus. Après les expéditions de Pausanias (478) et de Cimon (*ca.* 466 et *ca.* 450), cette évidence s'imposa aux Perses comme aux Grecs et fut entérinée par les dispositions mêmes du traité qui s'ensuivit.

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[21] Outre des garnisons permanentes, comme celles de Sardes, de Memphis (Hdt. III 91) ou de Célènes (Arr. I 29,1-2) qui surveillaient les capitales satrapiques, nous avons mention d'autres garnisons dans des cités secondaires: Iasos (Thuc VIII 29,1), Colophon (III 34,1-4), Milet (VIII 84,4). Ces forces d'occupation paraissent installées de manière temporaire. Ce n'est cependant pas le cas à Arad, Gaza, Eléphantine.

[22] Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII 6,1: "Les commandants des postes de garde établis dans les citadelles et les chiliarques des gardes répartis dans le pays...".

[23] Le problème de la diffusion du *haṭru*, en dehors de la Babylonie n'est pas résolu.

[24] Néhémie qui, dès 445, reconstruisit les murailles de Jérusalem désigna Hananyah commandant de la citadelle: *Néh.* 7,2. A Samarie, c'est de toute évidence Sanballat qui commande aux forces samaritaines (*Néh.* 3,34: il parle devant les 'troupes de Samarie'; et s'apprête à attaquer les Juifs: *Néh.* 4,1-17). Il en va de même en Ammonitide et en Idumée (*Néh.* 2,19; 3,35; 4,1-2; 6,1). L'organisation militaire des cités chypriotes dans l'empire devait *mutatis mutandis* ressembler à ce que nous entrevoyons dans les principautés de Juda, Samarie, Amon, Edom.

[25] Cf. Hdt. VI 42; sur l'existence d'un cadastre, voir *RTP*, 191-193 et Stolper 1985, 29-31.

[26] Il semble que l'on puisse également exclure toute implantation de caractère agricole (les Perses ne sont pas réputés avoir installé des colons-agriculteurs) ou commercial (le rôle d'intermédiaires était traditionnellement tenu par les marchands phéniciens ou les *tamkaru* babyloniens: Briant 1984a, 91-92).

B) Certains indices existent cependant d'une influence de la civilisation iranienne à Chypre. Ils se trouvent inégalement répartis — en fonction des sources ou de la réalité qu'ils traduisent? c'est ce qu'il faut déterminer — dans les différents domaines qui composent ce que l'on nomme une culture ou mieux une civilisation.

B1) *Influence culturelle et idéologique*

A partir du règne de Darius Ier, au plus tard, les Achéménides ont imposé ou tenté d'imposer à leurs sujets une représentation totalisante de leur empire qui cherchait à le justifier sous ses multiples aspects et revêtait de ce fait des formes différentes.[27] Certaines traces subsistent dans les provinces de la diffusion de valeurs iraniennes (voire proprement achéménides?): en Lycie, par exemple, avec l'utilisation de l'araméen d'empire pour des textes de portée locale (trilingue de Xanthos: voir Petit 1988, 315 et n. 55) et des emprunts à l'idéologie royale achéménide (Herrenschmidt 1985, 125-133). En trouve-t-on à Chypre?

On le sait, un des problèmes de l'historiographie achéménide est l'extrême dépendance dans laquelle nous sommes à l'égard des sources littéraires grecques. Pour espérer y trouver trace de l'influence des idées politiques perses, il faudrait que soient remplies au moins deux conditions. Que les auteurs grecs aient eu connaissance d'une telle idéologie. Qu'ils aient cru bon d'en faire état. Les principales sources sur la cour et le gouvernement des rois chypriotes sont les discours d'Isocrate et ne concernent que deux rois salaminiens (*Evagoras*, *Nicocles*, *ad Nicoclem*). La part d'apologie y est grande, la vérité historique n'y trouve guère son compte. Quand bien même Isocrate aurait eu conscience de traits empruntés au cérémonial ou aux idéaux achéménides, il ne pouvait en rendre compte dans des oeuvres dont le but avoué est de faire des souverains de Salamine, père et fils, les champions de l'héllénisme à Chypre, menacée, à l'en croire, de 'barbarisation' (Isoc. *Evag.* 47), et l'incarnation de la résistance à l'envahisseur étranger. Il les présente tous deux sous le visage de la sagesse, de la culture et de la tempérance. D'autres sources cependant nuancent le portrait. Nicoclès y apparaît bien plus comme l'archétype grec du roi oriental que comme un modèle de philhellénisme (Hill 1940, 145 et n.2). A cet égard, les royautés chypriotes paraissent appartenir à la sphère politique et idéologique de l'Asie (ce qui ne signifie pas que la population en relevait culturellement: voir *infra*). On n'y découvre cependant aucune influence spécifiquement perse.

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[27] Pour la forme et le contenu de cette idéologie, voir les analyses complémentaires de Briant (*RTP passim*: contrainte socio-économique: idéologie de la 'dépendance-contrat'), de Herrenschmidt 1976 (image de l'empire et phraséologie des inscriptions royales), Root 1979, (expressions architecturale et iconographique du pouvoir achéménide).

Deux séries monétaires attribuées avec quelque certitude à Evagoras II (*BMC.Cyprus*, XXIV, 18 et 19) portent au droit une tête de 'satrape', c'est-à-dire un personnage coiffé de la tiare souple. Outre que l'on ne sait précisément quelle valeur politique attribuer à ces représentations de dynastes coiffés de la tiare perse (cf. Petit 1988, 320-322), le contexte dans lequel furent frappées ces monnaies nous échappe totalement. La carrière d'Evagoras II fut en effet mouvementée. Il fut évincé du trône de Salamine et séjourna à plusieurs reprises sur le continent asiatique. On ne sait à quel moment de son parcours se situe ce monnayage (Hill 1940, 147 n. 2).

La religion iranienne n'a laissé aucune trace à Chypre; aucune mention, comme en Asie Mineure, de sanctuaires d'Anaïtis-Anahita (Sekunda 1985, 21; 23-24 et Debord 1982, 265-267), ou de prêtrise consacrée au culte d'Ahura-Mazda (Robert 1975).

Il est évident que la civilisation grecque et sa culture, favorisées par la communauté de langue, ont exercé sur la cour des rois chypriotes, surtout — mais pas exclusivement — dans les villes de population grecque, une attraction considérable. Et, quoiqu'il ne faille pas suivre Isocrate dans ses outrances oratoires, il est certain que l'Iran n'avait rien à opposer, dans le domaine des Belles Lettres et de la rhétorique, au rayonnement d'Athènes (pour ne rien dire, dans ce paragraphe, des arts plastiques).

Le tableau est donc contrasté. En tout cas, dans la mesure où elles sont perceptibles, il paraît impossible de superposer exactement appartenance culturelle ou ethnique et inclination politique et idéologique.

B2) *Influence sur la 'culture matérielle'.*

Cette dernière remarque vaut aussi pour les traces de la civilisation matérielle iranienne laissée dans l'île. On comprendra que l'on doive les apprécier en constante comparaison, d'une part avec les indices connus d'autres influences étrangères à Chypre, en particulier grecque, d'autre part avec de pareilles traces dans d'autres provinces occidentales de l'empire.

On distinguera les artefacts perses importés, ayant ou non appartenu à des Perses, et les 'objets' chypriotes ou non-perses trouvés dans l'île et inspirés de modéles iraniens (le départ, faut-il le préciser?, n'est pas toujours aisé entre les deux classes).

B2a) *artefacts iraniens à Chypre*
De telles trouvailles sont rares et peu significatives: ni la découverte de quelques dariques (Gjerstad 1948, 414, 419; Karageorghis, Chronique 1978, 676 + fig. 7; Schwabacher 1946, 27sqq.), ni la présence de plusieurs intailles peut-être de style achéménide,[28] ni l'importation de plusieurs bols métalliques (bronze ou argent) de style iranien[29] ne constituent des indices suffisants pour conclure à une circulation importante de produits achéménides,[30] ni à la présence d'éléments iraniens dans l'île.[31]

B2b) *artefacts d'influence iranienne*[32]
La vaisselle de métal dont il vient d'être question a suscité de nombreuses imitations céramiques: des bols carénés, avec ou sans ombilic central, ne sont pas rares à Chypre à l'époque classique. Il s'agit de céramique proprement chypriote, des classes Stroke Polished II (VII) (Gjerstad 1948, fig. LXVII no. 4) ou Plain-White VI ou VII (Karageorghis 1964, 76 n.9-10; Salles 1983, 64 no. 182-3 (et ref.); Karageorghis, Chronique 1979, 768 fig.23) de Gjerstad,

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[28] Karageorghis Chronique 1987 [*BCH* 1988], 804-805 fig. 24 et n. 17. Il n'est pas exclu que l'on ait affaire ici à des imitations locales. Cf. Picard 1980, 61 "...ces gemmes appartiennent non au grand art de cour (...), mais à l'art provincial de l'Asie Mineure et des régions côtières de la Méditerranée". Ces intailles seraient surtout en vogue au IVe siècle. Pour des points de comparaison, voir Richter 1949, 291-298; Stern 1971, 10-11 n. 22; Stern 1982, 196-198 et Stern 1984, 107 n. 5.

[29] Chavane 1982, 39-45; Gjerstad 1948, 151 fig. 28 no. 7 b et c (bronze) et 160, fig. 33 no. 7 et 9 (argent); Karageorghis Chronique 1969 [*BCH*, 1970], 222 et fig. 70 et Chronique 1978 [*BCH*, 1979], 682 fig. 36. Cependant, il n'est pas certain que ces phiales proviennent d'ateliers iraniens. En effet, dans la procession des 'tributaires' des bas-reliefs de Persépolis, certaines délégations qui ne sont ni perses ni iraniennes en portent. On admet généralement l'existence d'ateliers provinciaux: Amandry 1958, 15. Cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 164 A, B, C et 165; Stern 1984, 100 cite des importations et des imitations en Palestine, surtout à la fin du VI^e et au V^e siècles. Une telle vaisselle fut aussi exportée au IVe siècle dans le delta du Nil et "via Chypre vers l'Etrurie" (Chavane 1982, 40), en Thrace et en Bulgarie (Luschey 1983b, 324-325 Abb. 4 et 5; 327 Abb. 6. L'auteur y voit des 'cadeaux diplomatiques'). A Chypre, contrairement à la Palestine (Stern 1982, 74 fig. 89, no. 4 et 7, et 90, no. 4), ces objets ne furent jamais trouvés dans un contexte strictement iranien-perse: Karageorghis, Chronique 1969 [*BCH*, 1970], 222: "...le même site [Mantissa] a produit des tessons attiques du Ve siècle et un bol en bronze d'époque classique"; et Chronique 1978 [*BCH*, 1979], 682 (un bol trouvé avec de la céramique chypriote Plain White).

[30] Ces objets semblent jouer le rôle de biens de prestige tel qu'il est défini par Godelier 1978, 119: "Dans ces cas, tout se passe comme si la société avait 'institué' la rareté en choisissant pour certains échanges des objets insolites...".

[31] A ces catégories, il faut peut-être ajouter un type particulier de tube à kohl, vraisemblablement produit dans l'Iran du Nord-Ouest et dont certains exemplaires furent retrouvés à Chypre (von Saldern 1959, 29 fig. 6; Barag 1975, 28 et fig. 48; cf. peut-être Barag 1985, no. 45 et 78A). Je remercie M.-D. Nenna de m'avoir fourni ces renseignements.

[32] Par prudence, les intailles et la vaisselle de métal figurent dans la rubrique précédente, bien qu'il ne soit pas exclu qu'elles relèvent de celle-ci.

ou de céramique à vernis noir d'importation.[33] Cependant, pour cette dernière, il est difficile d'établir s'il s'agit de formes directement imitées de bols métalliques iraniens ou s'ils reproduisent, dans une qualité dégénérée, des imitations attiques de cette vaisselle orientale (Sparkes-Talcott 1970, 105-6 no. 520-1, 121 no. 691 et n. 56; voir aussi Shefton 1971, 109-111, pl. XX-XXII). En tout état de cause, la présence à Chypre d'exemplaires de celle-ci autorise à conclure que la céramique chypriote s'en est directement inspirée; elle semble d'ailleurs antérieure aux exemplaires à vernis noir qui, eux, sont de la fin du IVe siècle, et même du début de la période hellénistique (Karageorghis, Chronique 1979, 768 fig. 23, 766, Cypro-archaïque II — Cypro-classique I). Tel semble être aussi le cas des rhytons céramiques à tête animale de la classe Plain-White V (Cypro-archaïque II B), bien qu'on n'ait pas de modèles métalliques à Chypre (Gjerstad 1948, fig. LVII, 18; Jehasse 1973; Moorey 1975, n.26 et bibliog.; cf. pour la Palestine, Stern 1982, 134 fig.211-212; 1984, 97).

A ma connaissance, on n'y a pas identifié de céramique proprement achéménide. Mais cette carence n'est pas propre à l'île: on l'observe en Palestine, où là aussi pourtant la vaisselle métallique fut largement diffusée et imitée (Stern 1984, 97).

D'interprétation tout aussi délicate est la présence, sur des vases attiques à figures rouges découverts à Chypre, de scènes montrant des personnages vêtus à la perse. Deux tessons ont été découverts: l'un à Vouni (Gjerstad 1937, 249, 263, pl. 85, 1-2; cf. De Vries 1977, 546-547 [ca 430]) et l'autre à Paphos (Maier et von Wartburg 1986, 159 fig. 29 [fin du IVe siècle]; mais s'agit-il bien d'un Perse?). Selon De Vries, cette production attique était destinée à un marché oriental. Mais pareille hypothèse se heurte à certaines difficultés: comme il l'admet lui-même, il serait alors difficile d'expliquer la présence de semblables scènes sur des vases trouvés en Etrurie; et, de toute manière, on ne peut guère en tirer de conclusions plus précises. Ces objets paraissent relever de ce que Miller appelle des 'Perseries', objets orientaux prisés en occident pour leur étrangeté ou leur exotisme (Miller 1985).

Au sanctuaire d'Apollon Hylatès de Kourion, plusieurs milliers de figurines d'argile ont été découvertes (Young 1955, 5-6 et Karageorghis, Chronique 1982, 933 et fig. 54). Ces petites offrandes, le plus souvent des cavaliers, étonnent par la variété et le soin de leur façon, en particulier par le détail des coiffures. Cette précision montre l'importance relative des coiffes dans l'ensemble de la représentation; elles constituent, en effet, le seul élément d'identification des personnages. Bon nombre de ceux-ci portent un couvre-chef qu'il faut bien identifier comme une tiare souple rabattue. Young les répartit en deux catégories: les tiares hautes et les tiares basses (Young 1955, 201 et Monloup 1984, 120). Elles apparaissent à la fin du VIe siècle et perdurent bien après la chute de l'empire perse (Young 1955, 196 et 200). Elles sont de toute évidence des témoignages de l'influence perse sur les manifestations de piété locale; mais une interprétation plus précise est ici encore interdite.[34] Il est peu probable que les personnages représentés soient des Perses dédicants. En effet, ces objets appellent deux remarques: primo, on ne peut être sûr qu'à un moment ou un autre la population chypriote n'a pas adopté la coiffure perse;[35] secundo, comme le dit Young, ces figurines ne sont pas des effigies de dédicants, mais celles des personnages dont la représentation était propre à satisfaire la divinité.[36] Tout porte donc à croire qu'elles furent consacrées non par des Perses mais par des locaux. Ceci est confirmé par le fait que ces objets de piété sont particuliers à Chypre.

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[33] Mais pas nécessairement attique: cf. Burckhalter 1987, 354-355 et no. 81; Vessberg et Westholm 1956, fig. 21 no. 16 (= Black Glaze. p. 57-58: classé dans 'Hellenistic I Pottery'). Voir Karageorghis 1964, 76 et n. 11 et 12; Maier et von Wartburg 1986, 163-164 (cat. II). Dans la céramique à vernis noir du palais d'Amathonte, deux tessons présentent aussi semblable profil (no. d'inventaire: 77.286.18 et 76.850.15). Ils sont probablement de la fin du IV^{e} siècle.

En 1890, un chapiteau à protomés de taureaux, d'une facture comparable à ceux trouvés dans les capitales perses et à Sidon (Clermont-Ganneau 1921, 106-9; Contenau 1923, pl.44; Buhl 1964, 72-3 fig. 12 A-D et 78-80), a été exhumé à Salamine de Chypre (il est actuellement au British Museum). L'absence de contexte stratigraphique ou archéologique rend périlleuse toute attribution fonctionnelle à un ensemble architectural.[37] Au su de ce qui précède, on peut en tout cas remarquer que cette découverte remet en question l'identification des chapiteaux et des fragments de colonnes sidoniennes avec des éléments architectoniques provenant des bâtiments du 'paradis' perse de Sidon dont l'existence est attestée par les sources littéraires (D.S. XVI 41,5, cf. Stern 1984, 80; interprétation de Dunand 1923, 276-7 (cf. Saidah 1969, 122-4 repr. par Elayi 1987, 6-7, 45-6). On sait que plusieurs résidences-domaines de ce type existaient dans chaque satrapie; néanmoins il est fort peu probable qu'il y en eût jamais à Chypre où l'on ne voit guère s'aventurer de Perses que des hommes de guerre (cf. *supra*). Il est également peu probable qu'il s'agisse de la résidence du chef de la garnison mentionnée par Diodore (XII 4,1). Le stationnement des troupes perses semble d'ailleurs avoir été provisoire. Le chapiteau de Salamine me paraît être la preuve que de semblables édifices n'étaient pas l'apanage des seuls dignitaires perses dans les provinces. Peut-être faut-il l'attribuer en l'occurence à la dynastie teucride[38] et doit-on voir dans cette imitation, à Salamine et à Sidon, de l'architecture impériale achéménide une illustration de la rivalité bien connue qui opposait les rois Straton et Nicoclès pour le faste et la munificence de leur cour (?).

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[34] Young a remarqué la présence systématique d'un "heavy roll of cloth sewed to the tiara accross the forehead, the long ends of which ('flaps') either are left to fall onto the shoulder, or are fastened up in the back" (Young 1955, 201). D'autre part, il semble clairement différencier, dans son esprit, la tiare de ce qu'il pense être la kyrbasia, "the Persian headdress par excellence" (Young 1955, 203). Mais, dans son catalogue, il les confond sous la rubrique unique 'tiara' ("Allied with the tiara and falling under that general classification...": Young 1955, 203). Il est donc impossible d'en donner une appréciation ni statistique ni stylistique. Pour un tel personnage en char, voir Hadjisavvas 1986, 365 et pl. XXXIII,4: "Two figures stand in the chariot box, one is the charioteer, the other taller is the warrior, as was also the case in the Persian world". Mais voir aussi l'intervention de V. Karageorghis *ibid.*, 368, cf. Crouwel 1987, les chariots sont proprement chypriotes.

[35] En ce sens, on ne sait pas exactement ce qu'Hérodote veut signifier lorsqu'il dit que les princes chypriotes portaient la 'mitre' (bande de tissu enroulé selon Young 1955, 201), alors que leurs troupes étaient coiffées de la kitaris (Hdt. VII 90). L'étrange est que certains textes désignent précisément cette coiffure comme celle du grand roi (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F15,50; cf. Young 1955, 201).

[36] Young 1955, 196 et 200. L'intention du fidèle paraît être d'offrir une image du personnage le plus en vue. Ainsi, Casson 1937, 183-185 pense que les cavaliers sont des représentations des souverains à l'époque assyrienne ou perse. Interprétation rejetée par Young 1955, 230-231.

[37] On a même suggéré d'y voir le chapiteau d'une colonne votive: Karageorghis et Vermeule 1966, 22 et 24, fig. 7 et 8 et pl. XIX; cf. von Mercklin 1962, 29 no. 86, fig.129 et bibliographie.

A Paphos, au lieu dit Evreti, une base de colonne 'en tore' a été retrouvée dans un bâtiment privé de la fin du IVe siècle (Maier et von Wartburg 1986, 177 Abb. 54 et plan 175 Abb. 51.). Cette découverte trouve un parallèle dans la partie inférieure d'une colonne à pans coupés, découverte près de la muraille d'Amathonte dans un contexte archéologique perturbé, qui présente également un tore à sa base (*BCH*, 1978, 959 et fig. 40). Plusieurs tores lisses aux bases de colonnes d'époque achéménide sont connus hors de Perse et de Susiane: à Babylone, Byblos, Nurkanlè, peut-être Khorsabad (Wesenberg 1971, 107-109). Il est difficile de dire, en l'état des découvertes, s'il faut rechercher le prototype de ces colonnes dans les palais achéménides.[39]

A Paphos encore, sur l'éminence de Hadji-Abdullah, une partie d'un bâtiment du Cypro-Archaïque II (600-475) est apparu. On a cru pouvoir en comparer le style et le plan aux édifices de Persépolis, en particulier à l'Apadana. On y vit le palais du roi-prêtre de la cité, voire la résidence du gouverneur perse de Paphos après la prise de la ville en 498. Avec Maier, on rejettera cette dernière hypothèse (Maier et von Wartburg 1986, 159 n. 35). La première, faute d'un plan plus complet, ne peut encore être confirmée. Toutefois, sans attendre une reprise de la fouille, on peut s'étonner de l'érection à une date aussi haute (au plus tard dans le premier quart du V^e^ siècle), alors que les palais de Persépolis s'achevaient à peine, d'une réplique de ces édifices, dans une province très éloignée de la Perse, à l'initiative d'une dynastie aussi modeste, tandis que font totalement défaut des intermédiaires au Proche-Orient. A cette époque — pour autant que l'on puisse en juger par les rares bâtiments découverts —, l'architecture chypriote paraît plutôt s'inspirer du 'liwan house' d'origine anatolienne ou syrienne.[40]

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[38] Ceci constituerait une indication précieuse sur les modes en vigueur à la cour de Salamine. Le chapiteau s'orne sur ses côtés de caryatides dans le style grec. Peut-être doit-on y voir une adaptation d'un élément d'architecture orientale au goût hellénisant de ces princes. Mais nous sommes là dans le domaine de la conjecture.

[39] Wesenberg 1971, 146: "Ein unmittelbares Einwirken ägyptischer Formen auf die Säulen des Alten Orients konnte ebenfalls nicht beobachtet werden". Page 109, il évoque les antécédents de ces tores lisses aux bases des colonnes des *bît hilani* nord-syriens (voir aussi *ibid.* 28 et 89-91).

A Chypre donc, l'influence de l'architecture achéménide se fait sentir aussi peu que dans les autres provinces. Cette situation n'est pas due à une forte concurrence des modes architecturales grecques. On n'observe, en effet, rien de comparable au courant hellénique qui anime les bâtisseurs cariens du IVe siècle, sous les directives pourtant de dynastes non grecs (hellénisation nuancée par Gunter 1985, 113-124). Au contraire, l'architecture chypriote de l'époque classique paraît cultiver son particularisme, admettant ça et là l'intrusion d'éléments orientaux ou grecs (Gjerstad 1948, 321-328).

Pour les influences iraniennes, les bas-reliefs chypriotes qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous n'offrent rien de comparable aux oeuvres lyciennes, anatoliennes ou phéniciennes. Si les sarcophages de Golgoi (Myres 1914, 226-229 n./1364; Masson 1971, 316 fig.5) et d'Amathonte (Tatton-Brown 1981, 81), tous deux datés de la première moitié du Ve siècle et sans doute produits à Chypre (*ibid.*), sont classés parmi les reliefs 'gréco-perses', c'est là une appellation purement conventionnelle: aucune influence iranienne n'y est décelable. On n'y trouve notamment aucun des personnages vêtus à la perse qui apparaissent sur leurs contemporains lyciens (Demargne 1983, 167-168) ou phénicien, où les scènes figurées sont porteuses d'un «message politique» (Borchhardt 1983, 108 sqq.: 118 n.97). A l'époque achéménide, c'est sans doute en sculpture que l'influence de la Grèce est le plus sensible avec l'apparition du style cypro-grec (Gjerstad 1948, 473-474).

Il est probable que la qualité des bijoux perses influença l'orfèvrerie chypriote. Mais, bien que la Swedish Cyprus Expedition signale quelques bijoux 'achéménides', il est plus vraisemblable que nous ayons affaire à une production proprement chypriote (Gjerstad 1948, 416; Laffineur 1986, 90).

En archéologie, il faudrait idéalement rendre compte des conditions et des intentions dans lesquelles l'objet fut produit et utilisé. Le plus souvent la fouille ne permet pas de répondre à ces questions, pour ne rien dire des nombreux objets dont la provenance même est imprécise ou inconnue. Les conclusions tirées de ce matériel pour la réceptivité d'une population à des stimuli culturels extérieurs ne peuvent donc être que précaires. Ceci repose la question fondamentale qui sous-tend, tantôt explicitement, tantôt implicitement, les rapports de l'archéologie et de l'histoire: dans quelle mesure peut-on valider dans le domaine politique ou socioculturel des indices tirés du matériel archéologique? Même dans le cadre étroit de cette étude, on ne peut espérer contourner la difficulté. A moins de détenir des informations en nombre et en qualité suffisants, il faut, lorsqu'on traite de la civilisation matérielle, se libérer de l'obsession d'une interprétation historique qui pourrait, poussée à l'absurde, faire conclure, par exemple, du volume considérable de céramique attique retrouvé sur le site, au philhellénisme de certain roi chypriote.[41] Il faut définitivement se résoudre à ne voir dans un tesson attique à figures rouges trouvé à Amathonte ou dans un chapiteau à protomés de taureau de Salamine, que la ponctuelle préférence du commanditaire, quel qu'il fût, pour tel ou tel style céramique ou architectural. Goût qui, j'y insiste, ne laisse en rien préjuger des inclinations idéologiques, politiques, ni même socioculturelles de l'utilisateur et encore moins de la cité dont il était prince ou citoyen.[42]

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[40] Maier 1985, n.7 émet également des réserves sur une attribution précipitée. Gjerstad 1948, 321-328: "...to judge from the material hitherto available, the liwan type plays a dominant role in the Cypriot Iron Age architecture (...). The Iron Age architecture of Cyprus is thus composed of an 'Eteocyprian' majority and a Greek minority of elements...". Selon Stern 1984, 102-103, les deux types de sanctuaires d'époque perse que l'on rencontre en Phénicie, Palestine et Chypre, proviennent de Phénicie. Voir Dunand 1941, 57-73 et Gjerstad 1948, 12-23; 234-238.

Malgré son insularité, Chypre ne pouvait échapper aux influences des différentes civilisations qui l'entouraient. Elle a joué de tout temps le rôle de relai, en développant néanmoins une production originale qui adaptait parfois certains éléments extérieurs (Karageorghis 1968, 67-68). La civilisation matérielle perse n'a laissé que peu de traces (Gjerstad 1948, 472); et celles-ci sont en outre très difficiles à interpréter (Root 1985; 111 [en Egypte] et *passim*). Ce semble d'ailleurs être l'une des caractéristiques générales de la domination iranienne sur l'Asie antérieure de n'avoir pas tenté d'imposer sa civilisation, ni matérielle, ni culturelle (cf. Stern 1984, 112-3; Salles 1985, 203; Elayi 1987, 88). C'est la *technè* grecque qui, à l'époque classique, prédomine largement à Chypre, quoique avec des fluctuations (Gjerstad 1948, 278-281).

Chypre a cependant livré, ni plus ni moins que les régions voisines, des objets de caractère ou d'influence iraniens. L'absence, constatée dans les sources textuelles, de Perses à Chypre contraste d'autant plus avec cette relative uniformité de la diffusion culturelle de la civilisation iranienne dans les provinces occidentales. Alors que, comme en Egypte, en Phénicie ou en Anatolie, «The influence of the long period of Persian rule in Palestine can (...) be felt indirectly in the sphere directly connecting with the foreign rule, such as administration, military organization, money and taxation» (Stern 1984, 112-113), aucune trace archéologique, ni épigraphique, ni littéraire d'établissement perse n'est décelable dans l'île. S'il y eut échange culturel entre le suzerain perse et le sujet chypriote, il semble donc être dû à des échanges commerciaux et essentiellement imputable à la seule *technè*. La pauvreté des sources susceptibles de nous éclairer sur des emprunts culturels ou idéologiques interdit toutefois de se prononcer de manière catégorique.

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[41] Voir par exemple le raisonnement de Gjerstad 1948, 318. Maier 1985, 37-38 dénonce ce type de déductions.

[42] Cf. Picard 1980, 178: "l'antagonisme politique avec le roi n'a pas empêché Athènes de devenir le grand partenaire commercial de l'empire"; cf. Stern 1984, 98, pour les importations attiques en Palestine. Voir aussi les mises en garde de Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 132-133. Cette indépendance des données archéologiques et de l'histoire politique et sociale est ironiquement illustrée par la découverte, sur l'acropole d'Amathonte, d'un graffite phénicien sur un fond de coupe attique (Sznycer 1987, 389-390). On pourrait de la sorte multiplier les exemples. A Amathonte, ville qui fut le plus constamment fidèle au pouvoir perse, on a retrouvé une quantité très importante de céramique attique (*BCH* 1978, 955).

C) Les deux siècles d'hégémonie perse ont certainement modifié, dans l'équilibre insulaire, le rapport des forces entre cités-royaumes. Cependant tout événement politique ou militaire qui eut lieu à Chypre entre la fin du VIe et la fin du IVe siècle ne peut tout à trac être imputé au pouvoir achéménide. Son attitude montre que peu lui importait qu'une ville eût sur sa voisine des visées conquérantes pourvu que le tribut fût versé, que les vaisseaux fussent fournis, que l'allégeance à l'empire fût réaffirmée. C'est ainsi qu'il faut comprendre l'annexion d'Idalion par Kition au début du Ve siècle (voir *supra*) et la relative liberté avec laquelle seul l'appel de Soloi, Kition et Amathonte au roi et la volonté de plus en plus affichée du Salaminien de prendre ses distances d'avec l'empire décidèrent de l'intervention militaire perse (Costa 1974, 55). Il en va de même pour la vente de Tamassos à Kition (vers 350: Hill 1940, 113 n. 4 et 150 n. 2). En ce sens, il faut se méfier de toute interprétation qui voudrait voir dans les divers coups d'etat et les conflits entre cités, les effets de manoeuvres perses. Par exemple, il est loin d'être sûr que l'usurpateur qui chassa la dynastie des Teucrides du trône de Salamine (Hill 1940, 125-126) ait été télécommandé par Suse. Evagoras, d'ailleurs, servira loyalement la Perse jusqu'en 390 (Costa 1974, 40-56). Certains dynastes ont pu, à l'occasion, trouver refuge auprès du grand roi et bénéficier de son appui pour recouvrer leur trône, comme Gorgos (Hdt V 115) ou Evagoras II (Hill 1940, 146); c'était alors que l'usurpateur avait fait sécession de l'empire.[43]

Le comportement des cités au cours des différentes révoltes qui émaillèrent l'histoire de Chypre à l'époque classique dut cependant déterminer l'attitude perse envers chacune d'entre elles, du moins pour quelque temps. A cet égard, le cas d'Amathonte est exemplaire. En 499/8, elle fut seule à résister aux pressions d'Onésilos et à rester fidèle au roi, sans aucun doute pour des raisons de politique locale (cf. Gjerstad 1948, 475 n.5). Les insurgés vaincus et les autres cités prises d'assaut et grevées d'un lourd tribut punitif, Amathonte dut certainement bénéficier d'un statut privilégié. La prospérité manifeste de la ville au cours du Ve siècle (cf. Laffineur 1986, 123; Hermary 1987, 385), me paraît être conséquence de sa résistance aux rebelles et ne peut s'expliquer que par certains avantages fiscaux, voire commerciaux (il est impossible de le préciser) qui lui furent alors accordés.[44] En compagnie de Soloi et de Kition, elle résista encore aux menées d'Evagoras Ier. Ce n'est qu'en 351/0 qu'elle prit pour la première fois parti contre la Perse d'Artaxerxès III (D.S. XVI 42,3-6; 46,1; pour la date de ce soulèvement: Hill 1940, 146 et n. 5; Judeich 1892, 174 sqq.). A l'inverse, l'influence et la prospérité de Salamine durent se trouver momentanément affaiblies par les deux révoltes dont elle fut l'instigatrice en 499/8 et 390-379.[45]

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[43] Quant aux rapports de Soloi et de Vouni, voir dernièrement Maier 1985, 36-37.

[44] On lui accorda symboliquement la dépouille d'Onésilos (Hdt. V 114). Pasikypros, ex-roi de Tamassos, élut Amathonte pour finir ses jours après avoir vendu son royaume à Kition (Hill 1940, 113 n.4 et 150 n.2). Ce choix doit-il être mis en rapport avec la prospérité dont jouissait la ville au IVe siècle et les avantages dont elle bénéficiait?

On ne peut cependant voir dans ces événements les effets d'une politique perse visant à favoriser délibérément certaines cités au détriment des autres ou la volonté des Achéménides de remodeler la carte politique de l'île en fonction d'interêts à long terme.[46]

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[45] Cf. Isocrate *Nicocles* 31-33. Mais cela n'eut pas de conséquences à long terme (D.S. XVI 42,8; Isocrate *Nicocles* 34; cf. Hill 1940, 147).

[46] Cette relative liberté laissée aux Chypriotes et l'absence de contrôle direct sur la vie politique dans l'île trouvent d'ailleurs des échos dans les sources. Ainsi Xén. *Cyrop.* VII 4,1-2 et VIII 6,8 affirme qu'ils ne reçurent pas de satrape pour les gouverner. Leur situation est comparée à celle des Paphlagoniens et des Ciliciens. Et, de fait, on trouve ces deux régions également gouvernées par des dynasties locales, du moins jusqu'au début du IV^{e} siècle. Elles dépendaient certes d'un satrape (de Daskyleion, dans un cas, dans l'autre, de Syrie). A l'époque de Xénophon, les liens administratifs avec le pouvoir satrapique s'étaient relâchés; Xénophon se croit dès lors autorisé à affirmer qu'elles ne relevaient d'aucun satrape. La situation de ces régions contraste notamment avec celle de l'Egypte où la présence militaire perse devait être ressentie avec plus d'impatience (cf. Bresciani 1984, 372: le terme 'Mède' signifie 'soldat' en langue copte!).

POLYCRATES AND EGYPT: THE TESTIMONY OF THE *SAMAINA*

Herman T. Wallinga — Utrecht

Amasis and Polycrates

The career of the Samian tyrant Polycrates has always been treated as a purely, or almost purely, Samian affair.[1] His power and politics are seen as those of the typical Greek tyrant and, in as far as his power was based on his navy, this navy is considered as the traditional naval arm of the *polis* Samos, not in any way as Polycrates' own creation;[2] at most he is taken to have reinforced this arm. Consequently no one seems to have asked himself how Polycrates found the financial means to build, maintain and man the huge fleet of a hundred pentekontors and at least forty triremes that later was ascribed to him (Hdt. III 39,3 and 44,2[3]). Even Eduard Meyer, who was aware that Polycrates' 'Kriegsflotte von 100 Fünfzigrudern' was already 'eine Seemacht wie ... das Ägäische Meer noch nicht gesehen <hatte>' (1936, 721),[4] did not think that this was something requiring explanation. On the contrary: Meyer felt called upon to explain the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos' failure 'sich eine größere Seemacht wie Korinth oder Ägina zu schaffen' by adducing 'kontinentale und agrarische Interessen' (*ib*., 720). In Polycrates' case he may have thought that trade and, apart from that, the successful raiding ascribed to him (Hdt. III 39,4) yielded sufficient profits for such a fleet. But if that really was the case, reactions on the part of the neighbours ought to have been far sharper; in particular the outcry of the victims ought to have been less good-natured than Herodotus' story about Polycrates' restitutions (*ib*.) suggests that it was. Polycrates' navy, certainly at full strength, presupposes financial resources equivalent to at least half those of the Delian league and such enormous means cannot be explained as the fruits of depredations.

It is surprising that no one has thought of Egypt in this connection. For it is evident that Polycrates' actions in the Aegean, especially those resulting in the capture of towns on the mainland, had great strategic significance in the context of the struggle for power in the Levant, especially after the Persian conquest of Babylonia and the subjection of the Phoenician and Palestinian coast. From that moment on, Egypt was severely hampered in its traditional policy in that area, which, since Necho, had been largely dominated by considerations of naval strategy and aimed to keep Egypt free of (Asiatic) invaders. The means used in this policy were the fomenting and stiffening of rebellions on the part of the subjects of the power dominating neighbouring Asia in order to contain his armed forces there; the instrument employed was the navy that had been created by Necho.[5] What Polycrates accomplished was precisely what the traditional Syro-Palestinian allies could not for the moment be persuaded to do, and his success was spectacular: the Persian armed forces in western Asia Minor were reinforced to a degree that made their commander, the satrap Oroetes, a redoubtable power, much feared by the new king Darius and for that reason put away in a treacherous manner (Hdt. III 127,1ff.). The containment of such large occupation troops far from the Egyptian border (and the corresponding weakening of striking forces) was, as I said, the prime strategic objective of the Saïte kings and for that reason their involvement in Polycrates' actions to be expected. But even historians of Egypt are not alive to this issue and the importance of the alliance between Amasis and Polycrates is consequently played down: Kienitz, who has a very clear understanding of what the Saïte kings tried to achieve, evidently has no idea of the potential of the alliance with Polycrates.[6]

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[1] An extreme instance of this view is Ure (1926, 90f.): 'When Miletus became subject to a foreign conqueror, the Samians saw their opportunity. They took the place of Miletus not only as chief trading port in the East Aegean but also as the chief opponents of expansion any farther westward on the part of the great eastern power'. This judgement is without any foundation.

[2] See Shipley 1987, 69: 'the <Samians> had a large navy', i.e. at the time of the assumed coup d'état of the first Syloson (*c.* 590).

[3] It probably is often assumed that he had even more triremes, because he would not have sent all his big ships to Egypt.

[4] Meyer's verdict on Polycrates is closely followed by Bengtson (1969b, 139).

This is the more unsatisfactory because there is another — in this case generally acknowledged — reason for Egyptian interest in the region of which Samos was part. Again, this interest is strategic, namely the need to have access to the recruiting area where the mercenaries that Egypt had employed since Psammetichus I were hired. This need had forced the Egyptian kings from the very beginning to enter into contact with local potentates, in particular with the kings of Lydia, who employed the same mercenaries[7] and presumably had good connections with most of the potential supply-centres. An early alliance between Lydia and Egypt is actually implied in an Assyrian document stating that Gyges 'sent his forces to Tushamilki ...' (=Psammetichus I),[8] then in revolt against his overlord Ashurbanipal. Apart from being on friendly terms with Lydia, the Saïte kings also had to be in league with certain maritime *poleis* whose ships were needed for the transportation of the mercenaries. Here one thinks of the *poleis* mentioned by Herodotus as participating in Naucratis (II 178,2), and in particular of Aegina, Miletus and Samos, the *poleis* that clearly made the most of their connection with the Saïte kings (*ib*.3). Diplomatic gestures, like Necho's dedication in Branchidae of a garment associated with military successes (Hdt. II 159,3), evidently aimed at making these bonds tighter. After the fall of Lydia in *c*. 546 the Egyptian king must have been in great difficulties on this score: not only had the most important of his partners been eliminated immediately after their relationship had been formalised and strengthened in the quadruple alliance described by Herodotus (I 77,2-3), but the recruitment area itself (at least the continental Asiatic part of it) had fallen into the hands of the enemy of the allies, who could not be expected to promote the further hiring of his new subjects. Nevertheless, as the story about Phanes of Halicarnassus (Hdt. III 4) shows, new mercenaries continued to be hired by the Egyptians, men who in the end fought fanatically[9] for their employer (*id.* III 11). For this a new middleman must have been found and, to judge by the tradition concerning Amasis, there is no other candidate than Polycrates.

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[5] See Wallinga 1987, 55ff. On Necho see the excellent article by Yoyotte (1960), who notes that after Necho's defeat at Carchemish in 605 and the consequent evacuation of Syria 'désormais des vaisseaux rapides permettraient éventuellement d'acheminer aisément des renforts d'élite vers les côtes asiatiques' (372), but does not hazard an express judgement on the naval aspects of Necho's policy.

[6] See Kienitz 1967, 275. Gardiner (1961, 362) speaks only of Amasis' friendship with Polycrates and of the story of the ring. Drioton, Vandier (1984, 599) mention the alliance 'sans phrase'.

[7] See Hdt.I 77 (Croesus: *xeinikos stratos*); Nic.Damasc. *FGrH* 90 F65 (Croesus: *misthôtoi*); Plut.*Mor*.302A (Gyges: a Carian *epikouros*); and Polyaen.VII 2,2 (Alyattes: Colophonian mercenaries). Cf. Braun 1983, 36-7.

[8] See *ARAB* II §785. On the garbled name Tushamilki (for *Pishamitki) see Braun 1983, 36.

It is certain in any case that there was a close tie between these two men: Herodotus' account of Polycrates' career is a guarantee of that. But this account can tell us more than commentators have extracted from it so far, in particular where Amasis is concerned. For the order in which the early stages of Polycrates' career are presented by Herodotus is significant: first Polycrates rose in revolt and ruled the island with his two brothers; then he eliminated his brothers and became sole master of all Samos and after his seizure of power concluded an alliance with Amasis, the king of Egypt; presently his power grew and became the talk of all Ionia and the rest of Greece; all his military undertakings succeeded; he obtained a hundred pentekontors and a thousand archers; he plundered all and sundry (III 39,2-3).[10] This strongly suggests that only when Polycrates had ousted his brothers and made a bargain with Amasis, did he become really powerful and his tyranny a success. Amasis would seem to have been an essential accessory to his *Machtergreifung*. And, as I said earlier (p.179f.), the actions Polycrates then started fit precisely into the strategic concept that can reasonably be attributed to the Saïte kings from Necho onwards.[11] It is true that, if the *xeiniê* between Amasis and Polycrates had this effect, this has been concealed rather than exposed in the traditions, but this can be explained as the result of the emphasis put upon the story of the ring. This is even more true of Polycrates' role of middleman in the hiring and transporting of mercenaries: hence the low opinion of the alliance on the part of most modern scholars. Still, it seems to me that such judgments put too much faith in traditions taken at face value. Not only is there too much evidence pointing in a different direction, but there is reason to assume that these traditions have been much debased by deception and propaganda, not to mention the fantasy of storytellers.

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[9] In my view fanaticism is implied in the tradition about the blood pledge and its terrible outcome (Hdt.III 11, see How-Wells I 259).

[10] This order is seldom respected in modern studies: the statement 'Polykrates stützte sich bei der Erringung der Tyrannis auf 100 Pentekonteren' (Dunst 1974, 159) is more outspoken than most, but not necessarily more incorrect. The idea that Polycrates' power was based on Samian capabilities alone is generally accepted. It certainly was the view of Eduard Meyer (see above, p.1). Still, when it is remembered (1) that Greek navies in the sense of state-owned ships used for the purposes of the state normally were very small in the archaic period, that (2) Corinth was quite exceptional in this respect (see Wallinga 1987, 50-51), and (3) that very exceptional circumstances were needed to weld the merchant galleys of the Phocaeans into a really dangerous navy, Polycrates' great power, especially his huge naval arm, is something that appears overnight from nowhere, if not seen in the wider context here suggested.

To begin with, it must be clear that, when Egypt had been conquered by Cambyses, Polycrates had a most urgent reason to play down the importance of the alliance, to minimize its scope and above all his own part in it, to conceal its purpose (which the allies will have avoided making public in the first place) and in general to suggest — e.g. by broadcasting the story about Amasis' breaking the bond and why — that the agreement came to very little. There is even more reason to distrust the other half of the tradition about Polycrates, which deals with his elimination by the Persian satrap Oroetes. The fact that this man came to be considered a dangerous rival by Darius, and for that reason was liquidated in an equally perfidious manner as his later colleague Tissaphernes,[12] means that Herodotus' account of him, both as regards his motives eliminating Polycrates and his policies within his province and during what may be called the Persian civil war, is radically untrustworthy, being distorted by the propaganda of Darius and most probably also by that of Polycrates and by the fantasy of Herodotus' *logioi*.[13] If Oroetes had special instructions to fight Polycrates, for which his effective forces were reinforced, and his powers extended,[14] as I presume, this was of course not known to the Greeks. They made up for this lack of information by spinning specious tales (Hdt. III 126,2) about his conflict with his

[11] See Wallinga 1987, 60ff.

[12] Hdt.III 127-8; cf. Xen. *Hell.* III 4,25 and D.S. XIV 80,6-7 and for the end of Tissaphernes and the events leading up to it Westlake 1981, 257ff.

[13] In this perspective much of what has been written about the policy of Oroetes by modern scholars is rather naive: see for instance Laura Boffo 1979, 85ff. and Balcer 1984, 138ff. Balcer's notion that Oroetes spurred rebellion against Darius in Sparda makes Darius' propaganda more successful than was claimed by its author! In my opinion we do not have a valid reason to make Oroetes anything but a loyal Persian official, whose single-minded, if helpless, concentration on the Samian danger (combined, to be sure, with great military power) made him suspect in the eyes of the new king.

[14] This view is argued in Wallinga 1987, 60-1.

colleague in the neighbouring satrapy (which may be based on later fifth-century parallels),[15] and in particular about the elimination of Polycrates, where base personal motives are ascribed to him.

Because of this situation there is every reason to exploit the less questionable elements in the tradition and on that basis to conclude that Polycrates and Amasis had a very close alliance against the threatening Persians. Such an approach enables us to explain Polycrates' colossal navy and his territorial expansion as the result of their collaboration, and from this one may plausibly conclude that he really was set up by Amasis as his secret weapon against Persia. And just as plausible is the surmise that this close association also included the good offices of Polycrates in the supplying of mercenaries to Amasis. But even here there is more than plausibility: the tradition about the *samaina*, casually preserved by late sources, strongly suggests that this ship was used in precisely this context, that is to say that this tradition is unrecognized evidence that can be combined with Herodotus' account of the continued service of mercenaries. To make this clear I must say something about the number of men involved and about the possibilities there were for their transportation in Polycrates' times. On the basis of a figure preserved by Herodotus an estimate can be made concerning the scope of the operation, admittedly very crude, but that is unavoidable. Also more can be said about their transportation than has been attempted up to now.

The transportation of the mercenaries

As far as I am aware no attempt at all has ever been made to study the mercenaries in this perspective. This is understandable, because Herodotus is practically silent about their transportation and because it is probably widely assumed that these men came as settlers, so that later there was no question of any *regular* transportation, as has indeed been argued by Austin. His argument is chiefly based on Herodotus' account of the two Greek and Carian settlements, the words 'Psammetichus offered *chôrous enoikêsai*' (II 154,1) being taken to mean that he offered the mercenaries *grants of land* (to cultivate), in keeping with a long-established Egyptian practice; further on the function of these troops: 'not ad hoc levies raised for immediate and limited military objectives' but 'needed ... both for ensuring the security and independence of the country ... and as a counterweight and supplement to the old ... class of the Warriors' (who also had been granted the right to settle and hold land); and, finally, on the hypothesis that the Greeks were treated like the Carians (for whom more evidence has been preserved), e.g. concerning their right to intermarry with native Egyptian women (Austin 1970, 18-9).

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[15] See Westlake 1981, 259ff. The disagreement between the younger Cyrus and Tissaphernes is another example. Rumours of quarrelling with neighbouring satraps may well have grown up around such a potentate as Pissouthnes, whose position vis-à-vis the Delian League will have been comparable with that of Oroetes vis-à-vis Polycrates: see Lewis 1977, 80. Of course the conflict between Oroetes and Mitrobates may be historical, but the question is whether the Greeks knew more than the fact of the latter's execution.

It can hardly be doubted that this argument contains a large portion of the truth. Nevertheless the first point seems very difficult to accept. The words quoted are much better translated as 'assigned as abodes' (Rawlinson), for which cf. II 178,1: 'Amasis gave certain Greek traders plots of land upon which they might erect altars and temples'. For this reason I prefer to think that the mercenaries were not settled as a rule (certainly not in the beginning), but were enlisted for a restricted time; that, being of farmer stock, they turned to 'gardening', as countrymen-soldiers will (see MacMullen 1983, 1f.), a propensity which may well have been pandered to by their employer in order to bind them more closely to himself; and finally, that a number of them did stay for a long period or forever, although as a rule the majority returned after their contract had expired. The resulting pattern must have been variegated and will have changed with time, several factors influencing the attitudes of both employer and employees: growing familiarity leading to longer staying, diminishing demographic pressure and growing economic opportunities at home to the reverse. This reverse tendency must have been reinforced by the operations in the same labour market of the rival buyer, the Lydian king, whose mere presence must have been enough to keep many of the men from specializing in the service of Egypt, not to mention the military obligations their home *poleis* might have had to that king as his subjects.[16] I therefore conclude that there must have been a lively passenger traffic between Egypt and the Aegean and this conclusion finds confirmation in a detail of Herodotus' description of the *stratopeda*. After Amasis had removed the troops to Memphis the emplacements were still recognizable by 'the slipways of their ships and by the ruins of their houses' (I 154,5). The construction of these slipways (*holkoi*) definitely suggests that (transport) galleys were at home in these *stratopeda*, i.e. that having brought a consignment of men the ships stayed there during the fighting season and then returned home with 'demobilized' men and with the first earnings (in kind) of those who had come with them.

Regular transport of mercenaries to and from Egypt may be plausible, the difficulty with the traditions in question concerns the kind of soldiers involved and their numbers, and especially the kind of development to be assumed in the long period between the first Psammetichus' beginnings and Amasis' dealings with Polycrates. When Herodotus asserts that the first freebooters coming to Egypt were 'bronze men' (II 152,4, cf.3), the inference that these

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[16] See Hornblower 1982, 18 and n. 102.

'soldiers can only have been hoplites' (Snodgrass 1967, 65) may seem obvious, but the question remains whether they were all 'hoplites' from the beginning, as also whether they always were 'hoplites' at the moment they started out from their homes in Ionia and Caria. The crucial period for the development of the hoplite phalanx — 675-650: see Snodgrass 1980, 106 — half coincides with the first generation of the collaboration of Aegean mercenaries with the Saïte dynasty: this collaboration (and that with the kings of Lydia) will therefore itself have been an important factor in the social and geographical spread of that development by providing marginal groups in the *poleis* with the means of buying armour.[17] For the mercenaries cannot all have come to Egypt as regular hoplites, analogous to the Athenian hoplites *ek katalogou*, from the beginning. It seems very improbable that the average Greek '*zeugite*'-freeholder would have gone into foreign service, let alone abandoned his land to become a foreign settler in Egypt. Most mercenaries must have been of lesser status. This raises the problem of their initial fitting-out and training, as it does in the cases of the Athenian thetes serving as heavy-armed marines and of the Spartan helots.[18] In the absence of any evidence the field open for speculation is wide: for myself I am inclined to assume that the initial organisation of the 'bronze men' as they came to Egypt — the crews of 'pirate' galleys (Hdt. II 152) — remained dominant, since transportation capacity was essential for the working of the mercenary system as a whole; this in any case implies that ship owners — the original 'bronze men'? — were involved and must make one think of organizations like the Athenian *naukrariai*,[19] which had the function of furnishing the *polis* with ships (surely *manned* ships!). Such organizations may well have developed private (and less regular) initiatives of their own and in such cases replaced regular (hoplite) crew members not willing to participate with volunteers, and equipped these men and (part of) the oarsmen with armour less complete than that of hoplites, but still such that they were superior to 'native' troops. Of course they completed their armour in case of success.[20] In that way many marginal citizens in the *poleis* of the sixth century could have become hoplite enough to serve in Egypt and in Lydia and sufficient in number to explain the colossal figure in the Egyptian tradition.

If we assume, then, that these men served for shorter periods, e.g. for four years on average,[21] and that the number of Greek and Carian armed men in

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[17] Failure to consider this factor in the hoplite evolution is the one serious shortcoming in Singor's important monograph on this subject (see Singor 1988).

[18] Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1983, 139 and n. 70; and Finley 1975, 167 and n. 10 respectively.

[19] See Vélissaropoulos 1980, 14ff.

[20] In Ptolemaic Egypt the mercenaries were armed by the king (see Will 1979, 172).

[21] Four years is of course a mere guess, but the complete silence of the tradition on the terms of service (not only concerning these early mercenaries: see Préaux 1978, 307) makes such guesses

Egypt was in the order of 30000[22] in periods of great tension (such as the last 14 years of Amasis' reign), that would mean that each year 7500 replacements had to be supplied, i.e. a large number of shipments. The construction of the slipways shows that under the first Saïte kings these mercenaries were transported in galleys. It is true that on the route from the Aegean to Egypt the winds are favourable during the summer (and this circumstance was already well-known to the Greeks before the middle of the seventh century),[23] so that sailing ships might have been used, but the route back to the Aegean is very laborious for these ships (the winds now being contrary), not to mention the dangers of piracy threatening from the coasts they had to hug between Cyprus and the Aegean.[24] There is, moreover, reason to doubt even for the sixth century the use on such a long route of pure sailing ships, the evidence for which is late;[25] and, as deserves to be emphasized, the development of the *samaina* is in itself an important indication that even by Polycrates' times there was as yet no question of regular traffic with sailing ships on this route. In view of all this it is no wonder that there were still vestiges of the regular use of galleys in connection with Psammetichus' *stratopeda* in Herodotus' time.

If, then, the 7500 mercenaries travelled to Egypt in galleys, one must allow

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unavoidable. I repeat that I assume that the actual service done was very variable in duration. I note that mediaeval mercenaries had relatively short contracts (see Mallett 1974, 82f.).

[22] This is the figure mentioned by Herodotus in connection with the end of Apries (II 163,1): it is impossible to decide whether this was an exceptional number, or just the reverse, to Herodotus. It is perhaps more probable that Herodotus inserted an average figure into the record at a point where information on the strength of the mercenary army was desirable, than that an exceptional figure was preserved in a context in which it did not receive any special attention. In any case the political tension which came to a head in 525 must have led Amasis and his successor to the utmost exertion: I would not exclude that Herodotus' figure really belongs in that context. No doubt the figure is suspiciously 'round', but I would take it as the (correct) order of magnitude.

[23] For early visits of Greeks to Egypt see Braun 1983, 32ff. In the *Odyssey* Egypt is reached from Crete in five days: 'with a fine strong north wind ... It was easy sailing, as if downstream ... we sat on board while wind and steersmen carried us forward on our course; on the fifth day we came to the Nile's majestic waters' (XIV 253ff., Shewring's translation). Incidentally, the speaker of this passage, as the sequel makes clear, is a veritable prototype of Herodotus' bronze men!

[24] For the normal sailing course of a sailing ship between Egypt and the southern Aegean see Casson 1950.

[25] See Morrison, Williams 1968: Arch.85 and Humphreys 1978, 168-69. The establishment of the sailing ship as a type apart is a very difficult problem, not to be decided on the basis of early pictures or models of ships without oars. Just as galleys will often have used the sail to the exclusion of the oars in favourable conditions, favourable local conditions may have led to the building and early *local* use of ships not fitted out with oars. But the employment of the term *holkas* ('barge in tow') for the sailing merchantman (see Casson 1971, 169 and n. 3) speaks volumes: in their early manifestations these ships of course sailed as and when they could, but had to be towed regularly. This made them unfit for long trips where conditions varied and/or were unpredictable. Only when the Mediterranean had been sufficiently explored and conditions over the whole of its expanse had become predictable, did the *holkas*/round ship come into its own. This development is behind Herodotus' remark on the Phocaeans' exploration of the sea routes to the west, which cleared the way for the round ships (I 163,1-2).

for a great number of shipments: for a voyage of this length I would estimate the average passenger capacity of the galleys of the archaic age at not much more than 30 men.[26] There is no reason to assume that these ships differed much from those described by Homer with their 20 rowers, for which I would assume a length of some 18 to 22 metres (see note on illustrations, p. 194f. below). It is a plausible hypothesis that the pentekontor Thucydides ascribes to the period of the Trojan war and describes as the prime naval vessel of the whole archaic period (I 14,1), was a ship of comparable dimensions with a second bank of oars added. And a good case can be made (which I hope to present in the near future) that the Phocaeans used such pentekontors to transport mercenaries to Tartessos, men who made these journeys at the oars as *auteretai*, like later mercenary-like soldiers mentioned by Thucydides (III 18,4; VI 91,4). But even if we put the number of men transported in one galley at 50 (most of them *auteretai*), the transportation of 7500 of them would still amount to 150 shipments a year.

In view of the very considerable organization needed both for the recruitment and for the transportation of this great number of men the hypothesis that a local agent was engaged by the Egyptians is in itself plausible and once this is assumed Polycrates more than qualifies for the job and after the fall of Lydia in the 540s is the first candidate to be considered. Since, moreover, the building of a new type of ship is ascribed to him, and this new type can be shown to have been particularly suited to the needs of the allies, but on the other hand not to those of Polycrates himself when acting on his own (i.e. raiding his fellow Greeks), this surely must be reckoned corroborative evidence. Consequently the character of the *samaina* is the decisive argument.

The samaina (see illustrations at end)

According to the Alexandrian scholar Lysimachus (s. III/II) the *samaina* was a *ploion dikroton*, that is to say a galley with two banks of oars,[27] and had been constructed by Polycrates, the Samian tyrant (*FGrH* 382 F7). Plutarch (*Per.*XXVI 4) adds that, because of certain features of the construction, it combined the qualities of a galley with those of a sailing ship: it could race under oar (*tachunautein*)[28] and travel over the high seas under sail (*pontoporein*),[29] the latter thanks to its great width (it was *koilotera* and *gastroeidês*), the former for a reason concealed in the contrasting part of his description (here the text may be corrupt),[30] but easy to infer from the contrast itself which implies that the ship was (more) slender in its fore-part. Hesychius (s.v. *Samiakos tropos*) quotes Didymus for a characterization largely parallel to that of Plutarch (the *samaina* was broader in the belly; at the beak it was shaped in a peculiar way: here the text undoubtedly is corrupt).[31] Didymus prefaced his notice by a reference to something not mentioned elsewhere: the *samainai* were wholly decked over (*katestrônto di'holou*). That is all the information we have.

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[26] Sailing ships no doubt could have carried many more men, although it would be rash to reckon them by the hundreds: ships with such capacity (see NT *Act.*XXVII 37 and J. *Vit.*XV) were still a thing of the future (though a relatively near future: see Thuc.VII 25,6) by Polycrates' times. On oared vessels rowers had to have elbow room, so there cannot have been much space for what Thucydides calls *perineôs* (I 10,4: I am here adopting what I hold to be Thucydides' reasoning concerning the sparseness of the non-rowing 'passengers' on Homer's transport galleys).

[27] Dunst's rendering (1974, 159) '2 Ruderer auf jeder Bank' presupposes the *a zenzile* arrangement of the oars of ancient warships, an idea championed by Tarn, but rendered impossible by Morrison's reconstruction of the trireme (Morrison 1941 and Morrison-Coates 1986, fig.45; cf. Wallinga 1982, 476).

Leaving aside the rather desperate problem of the form of the fore-part of the ship, which is not relevant in this context, I would explain these texts in the following way: the *samaina* was similar to the pentekontor[32] in that it was *dikrotos*, and comparable to specialized merchant galleys like the *eikosoros* (see *Od.* V 322) in that it was wholly decked over. The combination of a complete deck and two banks of oars made the ship peculiar, since in the normal *dikrotos* ship the fixing of a deck on the beams, where the oarsmen of the zugian bank (the original oarsmen of the single-banked galley: see Gray

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[28] Cf. Thuc.VI 34,5 where *to tachunautoun* the galleys is contrasted with the slower, i.e. sailing, ships of the Sicilian expedition. Dunst's explanation of *tachunautein*, viz. that the *samaina* 'imstande war, infolge der festen Lage im Wasser auch über die hohe See hinweg ihr Ziel anzusteuern, *pontoporein*, während man sonst längs den Küsten unter vielen Umwegen sich vortastete. Es ist *dadurch* (my *underscoring*) auch das *tachynautein* ... erklärt' (1974, 160) radically misjudges the term. The presumption that other (oared?) ships were obliged 'sich längs den Küsten vor zu tasten' is no more than a (widely shared) prejudice: contrast Homer's descriptions of voyages 'über die hohe See hinweg' (*Od.* V 278: eighteen days!; XIV 252ff.: five days).

[29] Plutarch thus uses the verb in *Dio* XXV. It clearly had this sense already for Homer (cf. *Od.* XI 11 and the synonym *pontoporeuein* in V 77-78 and VII 267). Coraes replaced this perfectly sound reading by his own creation **phortophorein*, which was irresponsibly adopted by most nineteenth-century editors, and even by Ziegler (but not by Blass and Holden! see Holden's app.crit.). Ironically Coraes' reasoning was along the right lines: he wrongly thought that a more explicit term than *pontoporein* was needed.

[30] The Plutarchean mss. read *hypoprôros*, which is emended to *hyoprôros* in all modern editions after Salmasius. Dunst's proposal (p.161) to take *hypoprôros* in the sense of 'provided with a movable (ausklappbar) ram' seems utterly fantastic to me.

[31] Hesychius' text says that the *samainai* '*tous de embolous sesêmontai* (Dobrée changed this to *sesimôntai*), *hôs dokein rynchesin huôn kateskeuasthai, hoion ichthyprorous* (*hyoprôrous*: Salmasius) *einai'*. Dunst, if I understand him rightly, is critical of these emendations, but does not make clear in what direction he would search for a solution (1974, 160-61). A very radical change in a sense different from that of the editors seems to be indicated. What has been proposed does not make sense.

[32] There is no evidence that the *samaina* actually had an oar capacity of fifty (which is what *pentekontoros* means, *not* that such a ship was always rowed by so many men! Cf. Wallinga 1982, 465 on the analogous case of the trireme), but, as *dikrotos* oarage of such capacity could be mounted on what I hold to be the normal twenty-oared *monokrotos* galleys of the archaic age, including the *eikosoros*, this hypothesis involves the minimum of assumptions, viz. that two alterations were made, the addition of the deck and the second bank of oars, no more.

1974, 98) were seated, was incompatible with this bank (and a fortiori with the thalamian class of oarsmen, who could not do their work in the closed *thalamos*). The combination at least required that the shipwright brought the deck down sufficiently to give the zugian oarsmen room for their legs, i.e. placed them on benches like those of the thranites or, alternatively, seated them on chests as in the ships of the Vikings. It is obvious that a galley of this sort cannot be a warship, although it seems to be taken as such by Dunst ('<k>ein gemeines Lastschiff'!) and certainly is by Shipley (1974, 160 and 1987, 81 respectively; their view is probably shared by many others). The decisive argument against this view is the fact that, since it was especially built for Polycrates, its wide belly was part of the design and this feature put it at a considerable disadvantage in comparison with the normal[33] warship of those times, the pentekontor,[34] which Polycrates certainly would have used if the ships had had to serve in his piratical undertakings. Significantly the holders of the view just rejected have no explanation for the wide belly, which without doubt made the ship a merchant galley. It certainly was taken as such by Plutarch and his source. Merchant galleys, as I have demonstrated (above, p. 186), were more suited than sailing ships to the meteorological conditions prevailing on the route between the Aegean and Egypt, especially the voyage from Egypt to, among others, Samos. On the other hand the average galley of Polycrates' times was not the obvious instrument of trade with a country that chiefly exported grain, because it was an open ship. This must be the reason why the *samaina* was wholly decked over, which certainly made it more suited to the transport of grain; the same is of course true of its wide belly. I would indeed venture the speculation that, once trade with Egypt had become regular, merchant galleys furnished with complete decks and wider than average beam such as I assume Homer's *eikosoros* to have been will have become the prevalent type of ship in this traffic. The *samaina* would seem to be a further step in this development.

If, therefore, the *samaina* conformed to these specifications, that still did not make the ship exceptional. Moreover, it is very improbable that it would have been remembered as the invention of a specific period or person if that was all there was to it (and be it noted that the type does not figure in any heroic or otherwise conspicuous episode in relation to Polycrates!)[35] What really distinguished the *samaina* from other galleys of the same general type must therefore be its two banks of oars and it is this feature that must be explained.

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[33] By 'normal' I mean that every ship built in the sixth century for the *polis* (to be used *inter alia* as a warship) was a pentekontor, *not* that every pentekontor then was a warship: the Phocaean pentekontors evidently were merchantmen (see Hdt. I 163,1-2).

[34] The greater seaworthiness that may have been the result of its greater beam (witness Plutarch's *pontoporein*) can hardly have been more than an accidental quality. The Phocaeans demonstrated the seaworthiness of the pentekontor sufficiently .

[35] It has been suggested that the effigies of the coinage of Samian exiles in Zancle represent the *samaina* (see Dunst 1974, 161), but there is no evidence that these men travelled there in *samainai*, nor that the type was still in use a generation after the special relationship between Polycrates and Egypt had come to an end. The close connection between ship and tyrant in our late testimonies

Now it seems improbable that these banks were added because of the needs of the grain shipment. Grain is not such a perishable cargo that some weeks of travel make a great difference, provided dry stowage is guaranteed. In later times grain shipments from Egypt to Rome took seventy days on average (Luc.*Nav.* IX): that ought to have been realizable for any ship bound for Samos. Added oarage, moreover, probably would make the cost of transport prohibitive for grain. In this perspective the cargo for which the oarage was increased must have been much more precious and such a cargo is of course to be found in the mercenaries Egypt imported, by the thousands per year if my calculation (above, p.186) is approximately right. I have already suggested that galleys were the obvious means of transport for such men. One reason for this suggestion is that such eminently fit men as mercenaries must have been able to row and so to contribute to the speed of their voyage, and, by thus contributing, work their passage: compare the mercenary-like men travelling as *auteretai* that I already mentioned (above, p.187). A galley fit for both grain and troop transport was thus ideally suited to play an important part in the collaboration between Amasis and Polycrates. If, on the other hand, Polycrates' power had been based on Samian capabilities alone, his own piracy and the trade of his subjects, there is no explanation for the *samaina*.

Implications of the samaina

If the *samaina* is correctly assessed in this way, the nature of this ship, and the fact that it was built for Polycrates, taken together make an important statement concerning the policy and the actions in which it had to serve. In the times of Amasis' predecessors for which there is (apart from Gyges'

suggests that the type did not survive its designer for long. The fact that the term *samaina* also was used for a Samian coin (Photius *s.v. Samion ho dêmos*) and perhaps for the seal of the *polis Samos* (Plut.*Per.* XXVI 4), both presumably with a ship as effigies, will indeed signify that the Samian ships represented had a distinctive build: this is said in so many words by Herodotus when he relates the sad end of the exiled Samians at Cydonia: 'The <Aeginetans> sawed off the boar-shaped prows of their ships' (Hdt. III 59,3). Here again there is no reason to consider these ships to have been *samainai*, as Jeffery asserts (1976, 217), on the contrary: the Samian exiles had been sent to Egypt in Polycrates' triremes, had beaten (the rest of?) his navy when they returned, but had failed to press their advantage on land, after which they started the wandering that finally brought them to Cydonia (Hdt. III 45ff.). Their ships surely were triremes: that precisely was what made them such difficult opponents that it took the Aeginetans who did not have triremes at that time (Thuc. I 14,3) five years to prepare their attack (*ib.* 59,3). Evidently, when applied to ships, *samaina* had several meanings ranging from the general 'Samian ship' (cf. 'Dutchman' in English) to the more specific '*samaina*'. Cf. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, p.837: '*samaina* 'Samierin' (Schiffsname)'.

assistance to Psammetichus I) no trace of direct military collaboration between Egypt and Lydia (and whoever else may have been Egypt's middleman in the hiring of mercenaries) the difference in travelling time between the voyages out and back will have been acceptable. Time-expired men probably were in no particular hurry: as a rule there will have been no emergencies demanding their quick return and the normal merchant galley (and even the *eikosoros*) was fast enough for that reason. That an entirely new type of merchant galley was built, combining the oarpower of the pentekontor with the cargo capacity of the *eikosoros*, makes sense only on the assumption that the transportation of troops *from* Egypt *to* the Aegean had wholly changed in character and had become a matter of great urgency. Again there is no direct evidence that this happened, but once the view of Amasis' policy of the period after 539, expounded above (p. 179f.), is accepted, the assumption is unproblematical:[36] it was greatly in the interest of Polycrates that troops could be quickly moved from Egypt to Samos in case he came under pressure, and even if the Egyptian navy could have performed that task, it was in Polycrates' interest not to be entirely dependent on the Egyptians in this respect.

If this was the function of the *samaina*, one would expect the ship to have been built in considerable numbers: one or two, or even ten, would not have counted strategically. That is why it is very tempting to combine the tradition concerning the *samaina* with Herodotus' testimony that Polycrates after allying himself with Amasis obtained a hundred pentekontors. As I have suggested (above, p.000f.), these two types of ship will have been rather similar: apart from the deck only their width need have been different. The pentekontor at any rate must not be considered a uniform type, such as the trireme almost certainly was (though I do not believe for one moment in the much-canvassed notion that there were one-banked and two-banked pentekontors, the former as long as the trireme and in construction the basis of that type, the second much shorter): it is reasonable to assume that merchant pentekontors such as those used by the Phocaeans were (somewhat: not much)[37] different from pentekontors built for *polis* navies. If the *samaina*'s *dikrotos* oarage was similar to that of the pentekontor, the *samaina* may be considered a specialized pentekontor and the identity of Herodotus' 100 pentekontors with *samainai* very plausible indeed. And one hundred of these ships certainly carried great weight strategically.

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[36] The fact that Egyptian troops were moved to Lydia in 546 (see Xen.*Hell.* III 1,7; *Cyr.*VIII 1,32-45: cf. Sekunda 1985, 19) proves that the alliance between Amasis and Croesus had the same strategic objectives. On the possibility that these troops were Aegean mercenaries in Egypt's service see Hornblower 1982, 18 and n.101. I fail to see why descendants of Ionians and Carians would have been called Egyptians more than a century later.

[37] Again, mainly in width.

This figure of one hundred is interesting for another reason. Phocaea, the *polis* Thucydides mentions in one breath with Polycrates as an important sea-power (I 13,6), possessed some 120 pentekontors at the moment it was attacked by the Persians (60 went to Corsica in *c.* 545 with less than half the population: Hdt. I 166,2 and 165,3). As I remarked (above, p. 187), a good case can be made for these ships being used to transport mercenaries to Tartessos. That is to say that the two powers resembled each other to a very high degree: both depended for their naval strength on the economic potential of a non-Greek country and both repaid what they owed to their partners in services.

In this connection it is interesting to ask whether there were more participants in this traffic in mercenaries. In my view this is not very probable for the western branch,[38] but Egypt is a different matter. It is not entirely fanciful, for instance, to suppose that the Phocaeans who returned from their exodus to Phocaea did so in the expectation that they could focus on Egypt in the future. However that may be, there are certainly more obvious candidates. In the tradition concerning Naucratis, Aegina and Miletus are treated as the equals of Samos, these three *poleis* evidently being predominant in this port-of-trade. They are bound together not only by having their own temples, but even more intimately by the hostility of two of them — Aegina and Miletus (with Mytilene added: Hdt. III 39,4 and 59) — towards the third. This hostility manifests itself during Polycrates' reign and would be readily explicable if Polycrates tried (or if he and Amasis had agreed) to exclude the others. It is true that Herodotus' informants explained the hostilities they related as stages in hereditary enmities and they are generally taken seriously even now (see Figueira 1982, 207f. and Shipley 1987, 37-38), but one may legitimately ask if such explanations could not just as well have been made up by amateur 'historians' among these *logioi.* In the circumstances of Herodotus' *historia* the factors actually leading to such conflicts were no longer obvious[39] and 'traditions' like those concerning the ancient Samian king Amphicrates and the participants in the Lelantine war (Hdt. III 59; V 99) probably common as grass. To assume that the conflicts in question had to do with a real bone of contention seems more rational than the uncritical acceptance of ancient(?) tales. That an almost mythical *casus belli* was attached to the attack on Cydonia indicates that the privateering of the Cydonians was not the only reason for this operation: clearly the wrongdoers were identified with a policy that was felt to be Samian, if not indeed specifically Polycratean.

On the hypothesis here defended (and also in consideration of the fact that the traditions have been affected by propaganda and deceit: see above, p.182f.)

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[38] No competitors are mentioned in the tradition; Herodotus' account suggests that the Phocaeans monopolized the trade with Tartessos.

[39] If only because there were no mercenaries serving in Egypt in the middle of the fifth century.

it is difficult to believe that the alliance between Polycrates and Amasis ended in the way Herodotus heard it, even if we ascribe a more serious or at any rate more political motive to Amasis. As long as the *parathalassioi* of the Levant remained loyal to the Persians, the Egyptian king simply had no choice but to cling to his Aegean 'friends', even if he did not always like their initiatives. That Polycrates raided his Aegean neighbours can hardly have been to the taste of Amasis, whose diplomacy like Necho's was aimed at winning the Greeks: he may well have remonstrated, perhaps with success! (witness the anecdote about Polycrates' restitutions: Hdt. III 39,4). No doubt the allies were in regular communication, but the tradition that an Egyptian envoy came to denounce the treaty (Hdt. III 43,2) is not therefore to be taken on trust: even if the envoy's message — a note of protest? — was public (as Herodotus suggests by making him a herald), Polycrates had reason and opportunity enough to spread his own highly coloured version after his ally had been conquered by the Persians.

With respect to the story of Polycrates' attempted support of Cambyses in 525 scepticism is even more justified. Whatever instructions he may have given to the commander of his 40 triremes, after the Egyptian defeat he had no choice but to maintain that he had ordered him to support the Persians. The rest of the account preserved by Herodotus seems to reflect the viewpoint of the rebels exclusively, but is not incompatible with the view that Polycrates' instructions were entirely opportunistic[40] and that his squadron, unable to help the Egyptians and not needed by Cambyses, was sent back by the latter with orders to make away with Polycrates. But it is equally possible that Herodotus' first version of the return is right and that the officers and the marines[41] refused to proceed because they did not like the double dealing of the tyrant and feared the wrath of the victorious king, if the secret leaked out.

Conclusion

When Herodotus begins his account of the drama of Polycrates' end, he characterizes him as 'the first Greek known to us who planned to have the mastery of the sea (*thalassokratein*)' and 'who entertained every hope to rule Ionia and the islands' (III 122,2). It is important to note that this is not said when Polycrates' great power is defined (III 39,3), but in the context of the Persian satrap Oroetes' attempt to put him out of the way. Presumably, therefore, he was assumed to have nursed his thalassocratic ambitions right to the end of his life, that is to say even after the ruin of Saïte Egypt.

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[40] In my view that would not exclude the possibility that Polycrates sent an envoy to Cambyses with an offer of support (Hdt. III 44).

[41] Though not necessarily chosen for that reason, as Herodotus' informants (the grandsons?) averred, these men are in fact not unlikely to have belonged for the most part to (potentially) anti-Polycratean factions.

Certainly it looks as if, at the moment that Oroetes sent his envoy to lure him to Magnesia, Polycrates was still much too powerful for the satrap to have any other means of destroying him. As I have endeavoured to demonstrate, this is more than likely to be correct. If on the other hand my analysis of the relationship between Amasis and Polycrates is valid, Polycrates for his part must have been in great difficulties at that moment, because he could hardly afford really to use his naval power without regular revenues, i.e. the Egyptian subsidies.

Now it is a most interesting fact that such difficulties are mentioned in the tradition: lack of money was precisely the weakness in his adversary's armour at which Oroetes' attack was directed. The gist of his message to Polycrates was as follows: 'You have great designs, but not the required money: if you let me help you out, you will also save me', and Herodotus expressly gives us to understand that this worked like a spell 'for Polycrates indeed greatly craved for money' (III 123,1). In thus presenting the tradition Herodotus, moreover, suggests that Oroetes' message had been delivered in public, and this in my view is very plausible: there is no reason why it should have been secret. The message will therefore be genuine, particularly as it seems most improbable, given Polycrates' reputation of *megaloprepeia*, noted in precisely this context (III 125,2), that the negative evaluation the message implies was the result of posthumous interpretation by Greek *logioi*. Oroetes' message in other words fully corroborates the hypothesis concerning the basis of Polycrates' power I have been expounding in these pages: the promptness with which the adressee fell for it provides the clinching argument.

The hypothesis here proposed puts a rather different face on the career of Polycrates of Samos and makes the man more of a pawn on a chess-board where mightier pieces dominated the game. This may rob him of some glory, but makes him more understandable and the scale of his power and his operations more acceptable: if we had to take the tradition in the sense that all this was based on Samos alone, his power would be entirely out of proportion. Polycrates' naval forces being halfway comparable to those of the Delian league, one would have to suppose a comparable infrastructure too, and that, without any corroborative evidence, would be irresponsible.

ILLUSTRATIONS

I append, four drawings, one the isometric projection of a *dikrotos* galley such as could have been placed on the stereobate that was found in the Samian *Heraion* and recognized by Snodgrass (1983, 17) as an important document for the history of the Greek ship; the others hypothetic cross-sections of three types of early galley, the pentekontor, the *eikosoros* and the *samaina* (left to right, top to bottom).

The stereobate, consists of nine stone slabs forming an oval of *c.* 25 × 3.22m (for a photograph see *AA* 1965, 429-30, Abb.2), which clearly served as a support for a whole ship dedicated in the sanctuary. Its dimensions are commensurate with those of a two-banked pentekontor, the length of which can be assessed at a minimum of *c.*20 metres (13 *interscalmia* of 0.9 m for the 14 thranite oarsmen a side, + *c.*5 m each for the deckings at stem and stern). I have little doubt that the pentekontor normally was longer than this minimum, among other things to make room for marines and passengers. The beam of the type exclusive of the *parexeiresia* will have been in the order of 3.20 m (twice *c.* 1.40 m for the looms of the zugian oars + elbow room amidships for the oarsmen, see Morrison, Williams 1968, Pl. 25).

A ship of the size of a pentekontor, with 14 tholes on the *parexeiresia* (represented as a black band, probably a plank joined to the ship's side by means of struts and cross-bars) and no tholes on the gunwale below it, is painted on the geometric *krater* Louvre A.517 (= Morrison, Williams 1968, Geom. 9 and Casson 1971, fig. 72). Tholes on the gunwale of similar ships are actually painted on Morrison, Williams 1968, Geom. 2 and 4 and implied on *ibid.*, Geom. 10 and 11. I assume that the *parexeiresiai* of these ships had no *epotides* (catheads) as those of the Athenian triremes (cf. Morrison, Williams 1968, 281ff., Casson 1971, 85f., Morrison/Coates 1986, 167 and fig.46): their front and back parts will have been integrated in the construction of the deckings.

I am very grateful to Dr. Hermann Kienast of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens for information about the stereobate and for permission to write about it. For the drawing of the hypothetic votive ship I have to thank Mr. Frans Erens.

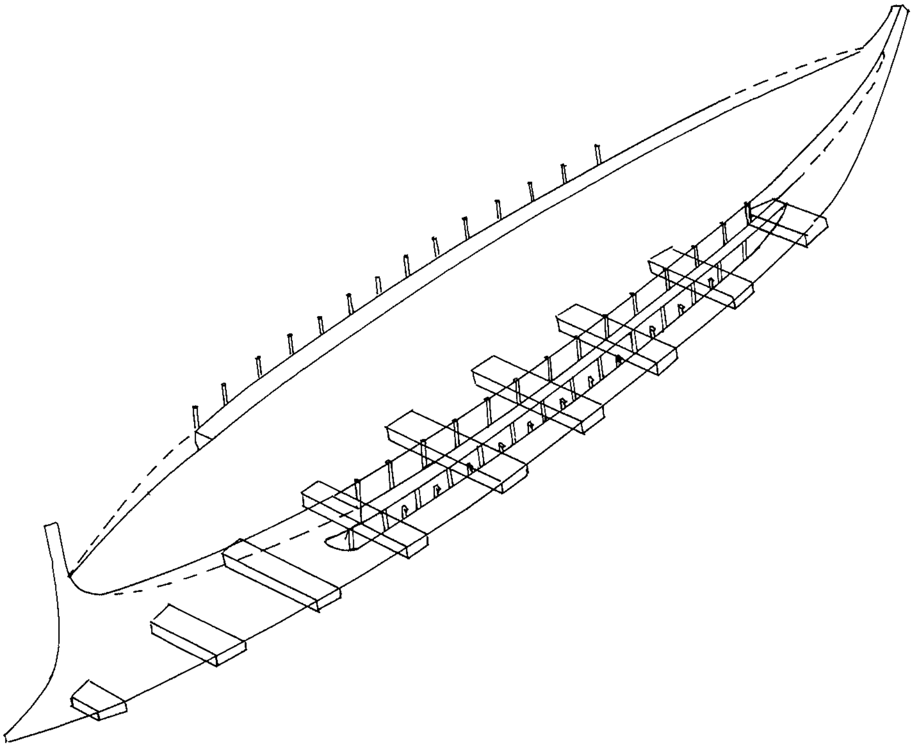

Fig. 1.

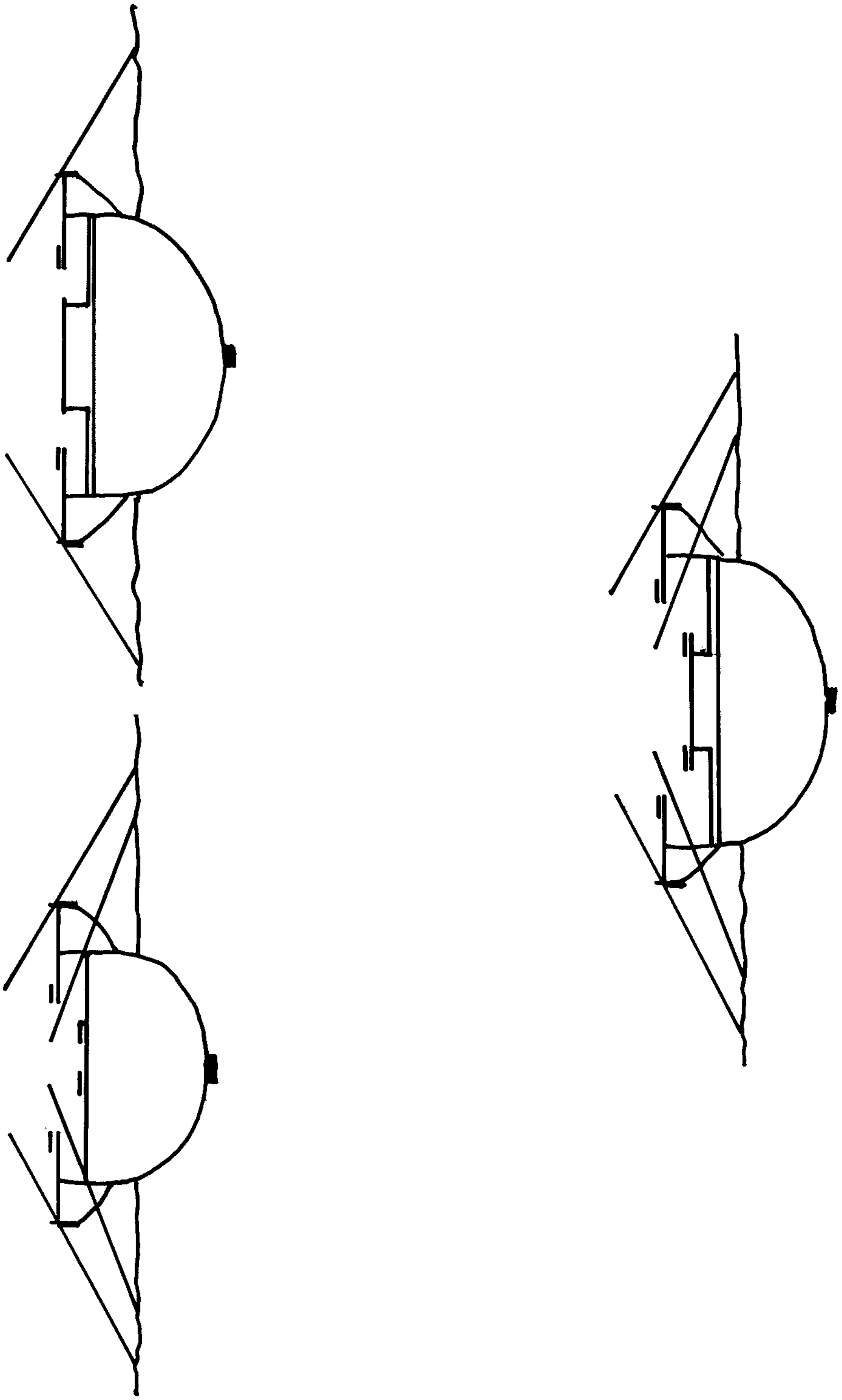

Fig. 2. (Legenda in text).

RECHERCHES D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARAMÉENNE EN ASIE MINEURE ET EN ÉGYPTE ET LE PROBLEME DE L'ACCULTURATION

André Lemaire — Paris

Un certain nombre d'études récentes, en particulier de Briant (1988a) pour l'Egypte et de Frei (1984) pour l'Asie Mineure, ont essayé de présenter une synthèse générale sur les rapports entre le pouvoir central perse et les populations ou autorités locales d'Egypte et d'Asie Mineure. Le but de notre étude sera beaucoup plus modeste: en réétudiant quelques inscriptions araméennes connues et quelques autres inédites,[1] nous voudrions essayer de montrer comment, malgré certaines incertitudes qui demeurent, elles jettent quelque lumière nouvelle sur les rapports entre le gouvernement central perse et les populations locales, plus spécialement leurs autorités traditionnelles et leurs cultures.

ÉGYPTE

1. *La stèle d'Assouan*

Cette stèle en grès, mutilée dans sa partie inférieure et supérieure, a été publiée dès 1903 par le Marquis de Vogüé (1903, 267, 269-276) et reprise dans *RES* 438 et 1806. Hormis le manuel polycopié de Koopmans (1962, no.22: I, 101-102; II, 23), le livre de Grelot (1972, 333-335) et la grammaire de Segert (1983, 514), cette inscription est absente des recherches récentes, en particulier des deux grands recueils récents d'épigraphie araméenne (*KAI*; Gibson 1975). Quelque peu délaissée par les sémitisants, cette inscription a été mise en valeur par les iranisants, en particulier par l'étude en russe de Bogoliubov (1966, 40-46; cf. Teixidor 1969, no.116; 1986, 102; Lipiński 1981-8) dont les conclusions ont été reprises par Boyce (1982, 184-185; 1984, 293).

En effet, Bogoliubov avait fait progresser la compréhension de cette inscription en proposant de lire:

1. BRZMDN' ZNH [W]YD̊[RNG]
2. RB ḤYL' ZY SWN 'BD
3. BYRḤ SYWN HW MḤYR
4. ŠNT ŠB' 'RTḤŠSŠ MLK'
5. [B/L? H]WPRNDSTY 'LH' DRWT
6. .....

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[1] Nous ne développerons pas ici l'aspect proprement épigraphique de l'étude de ces inscriptions, nous réservant de le publier ailleurs.

1. Ce temple, (W)id(arnaga)
2. chef de la garnison de Syène a fait
3. au mois de Siwân, c'est à dire de Meḥîr,
4. l'an sept du roi Artaxerxès
5. *par la grâce* du dieu, la paix.
6. ....

Cependant, si, à la ligne 1, son interprétation de *brazmadana*, 'maison des rites', 'temple' a été reprise et acceptée par les iranisants, et si la restitution du nom Widarnaga paraît vraisemblable, sa lecture de *hufarnadastay*, à la ligne 5, se heurte à des difficultés épigraphiques et linguistiques.[2] De plus, on reste étonné que la divinité à laquelle devait être dédié ce temple ne soit pas nommée.

En fait, les restes de la ligne 5 semblent plutôt à lire:

5. [L]’̊WŠ̊RNḤ̊TY ’LH’ DRWT
5. (à) Osirnaḥty, le dieu. Paix

C'est dire que, au lieu de se situer dans le contexte de l'instauration d'un culte ou d'un temple iranisant à Syène, cette inscription évoque très probablement la construction, par le chef de la garnison perse, d'un temple dédié à 'Osiris le puissant', et donc d'un temple dédié à une grande divinité égyptienne ou à un personnage divinisé 'Osirnaẖty' (cf. Rowe 1940; Habachi 1956; Quaegebeur 1977; Wildung 1977; de Cénival 1987).

Bien plus, tous les commentateurs ont daté cette inscription de 458 av. J.-C., «an sept du roi Artaxerxès» Ier, en pensant que Artaxerxès II et Artaxerxès III étaient totalement exclus pour des raisons historiques.[3] Un examen attentif du dossier historique (e.g. Salmon 1985) du contrôle perse sur l'Egypte montre que les choses ne sont peut-être pas aussi évidentes:

– En 458, les Perses n'avaient qu'un contrôle partiel sur l'Egypte puisque la plus grande partie du Delta était alors révoltée sous la direction d'Inaros.

– Surtout, la situation politique de l'Egypte 'en l'an sept d'Artaxerxès' II (398) ne paraît pas totalement éclaircie. Si une partie du Delta semble s'être révoltée dès 405 ou 404 sous la direction d'Amyrtée,[4] l'histoire politique du 'règne' de ce dernier reste dans une obscurité quasi-totale car «les monuments égyptiens sont muets sur le règne d'Amyrtée, et ce silence peut paraître, à tout le moins, étrange» (Drioton-Vandier 1962, 606). En fait, ce sont les papyri araméens d'Eléphantine qui jettent quelque lumière sur cette période troublée. Or au moins deux papyri sont datés explicitement de l'«an 4 d'Artaxerxès» II (402/1),[5] un de l'«an 5 d'Amyrtée» (*CAP* 35, l. 6; Grelot 1972, no. 7), et le plus récent, malheureusement très fragmentaire, daté tantôt de 399, tantôt de 398 (cf. Grelot 1972, 391, 420, 422; Bresciani 1984, 367, 400; Contini 1986, 73 n.2, 84, 102), semble rapporter l'intrônisation du roi Néféritès. Si l'on tient compte du fait que *CAP* 35,1 pourrait avoir été écrit à Memphis (comme Kraeling 1953, 13!), ou ne manifester qu'un contrôle très provisoire de Syène, il n'apparaît pas totalement impossible que le contrôle perse sur Syène ait continué jusqu'en 398, c'est à dire «en l'an sept d'Artaxerxès» II.

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[2] Cf. en particulier, la remarque de Hoffmann 1976, 376, n. 6.

[3] Cf. encore récemment Naveh 1970, 42.

[4] Memphis pourrait être resté sous contrôle perse au moins jusqu'en l'an 2 d'Artaxerxès (403 av. J.-C.): cf. Lemaire 1987, 55.

[5] Cf. Kraeling 1953, no. 11,1 et 12,1, auquel il faut probablement ajouter *CAP* 7 (cf. Porten 1987) et, peut-être, *CAP* 43 (cf. Porten 1985, 41-42).

La paléographie de cette inscription, dont certains traits évoquent l'inscription araméenne de la trilingue de Xanthos du IV^{e} s., ainsi que, à un moindre degré, la double datation et la restitution vraisemblable de 'Widarnaga' à la ligne 1[6] semblent plutôt favoriser une datation en 398 qu'en 458.

Bien plus, cette interprétation rapportant au chef de garnison Widarnaga la construction d'un temple dédié à «Osiris le puissant», a Syène, en 398 av. J.-C., se situerait assez bien dans le contexte de ce que nous savons de l'attitude politique de Widarnaga. Ce dernier a été à Abydos[7] (*CAP* 38) où se trouvait le sanctuaire traditionnel d'Osiris, et, surtout, avait une attitude générale très égyptophile, au moins dans le domaine cultuel.[8]

En résumé, bien que certaines incertitudes demeurent, qui seront peut-être levées un jour par de nouvelles découvertes, il semble que, dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, il soit préférable de ne pas utiliser cette inscription comme un témoignage en faveur de l'instauration d'un culte perse officiel en Egypte.[9] Au contraire, cette inscription semble plutôt attester la construction d'un temple dédié à une grande divinité égyptienne par un commandant de garnison perse. De plus, il n'est pas impossible que cette stèle soit à dater de l'an sept d'Artaxerxès II, ce qui manifesterait que les Perses ont continué à exercer un certain contrôle politique sur Syène-Eléphantine en Haute-Egypte jusqu'en 398 av. J.-C.

2. *Les inscriptions de Cheikh Fadl*

Ces inscriptions découvertes dans une tombe près de Cheikh Fadl, face à Beni-Mazar, sur la rive droite du Nil, à environ 185 km au sud du Caire, ont été découvertes en 1921-1922 par Flinders Petrie. Noël Giron en avait fait une présentation préliminaire dès 1923.[10] Elles n'ont malheureusement, depuis, jamais été complètement publiées. Après avoir rapidement répéré et visité cette tombe en 1984, nous préparons actuellement la publication de ces inscriptions.

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[6] En effet, 'Widarnaga', peut-être appelé *(rb) ḥyl'*, 'chef de garnison', est mentionné dans Kraeling 1953, 13,7, cf. dernièrement Porten-Yardeni 1986, 46.

[7] Cf. Grelot, 1972, no. 98. On notera que, dans ce dernier document, Widarnaga n'a libéré le juif Maʿûzyâh qu'après l'intervention de Ṣéḥâ et Ḥôr, apparemment deux Egyptiens, ce qui pourrait être un nouvel indice de l'égyptophilie de Widarnaga.

[8] Cela est particulièrement manifeste dans l'appui que Widarnaga a donné aux prêtre de Ḥnûm lors du sac du temple juif d'Eléphantine. Cf., par example, Grelot 1972, 398-419. D'une façon générale, sur la carrière et l'attitude politique de Widarnaga, cf. aussi Briant 1988a, 144-147; 161.

[9] Ce qui ne veut pas nécessairement dire qu'il n'y en ait pas eu. Pour le même problème en Asie Mineure, cf. récemment Gschnitzer 1986.

Ces inscriptions sont très fragmentaires et très abîmées; aucune ligne ne semble complète; elles sont donc très difficiles à exploiter. Bien plus, elles sont très originales car il s'agit d'inscriptions à l'encre rouge disposées en panneaux (17, d'après la numérotation de Giron) tout autour sur la paroi de la pièce principale de la tombe. Le texte mentionne le roi Taharqa (*thrq'*) et les pharaons Nékao (*nkw*) et Psammétique (*psmšk*) c'est à dire Nékao Ier et Psammétique Ier, comme l'avait déjà bien vu Giron. Cependant ce dernier pensait qu'il s'agissait d'une inscription funéraire d'un ancien fonctionnaire assyrien qui aurait trahi son roi, datant donc «entre le milieu du VIIe et la fin du VIe siècle av. J.-C.» (Giron 1923, 43).

Cette interprétation générale est invraisemblable car, comme l'avait aussi noté Giron (1923, 42), ces inscriptions datent paléographiquement «de l'époque des papyrus araméens d'Eléphantine», plus précisément vers le second quart du Ve s. av. J.-C. (cf. Naveh 1970, 40-41). En fait, il s'agit très probablement d'un ou de plusieurs texte(s) littéraire(s) et la disposition générale de ces inscriptions en colonnes évoque d'ailleurs la copie d'un manuscrit.

D'après les fragments que nous arrivons encore à lire, ce texte littéraire araméen reflète une tradition littéraire purement égyptienne. En dehors de la langue, rien n'évoque le monde araméen, ni le monde perse. Outre le nom du roi des 'Ethiopiens' Taharqua, on lit plusieurs fois ceux des pharaons du début de la dynastie saïte: Nékao Ier et Psammétique Ier, ainsi que le nom même de l'Egypte (*mṣryn*). De plus il semble être fait mention de plusieurs divinités égyptiennes, en particulier d'une divinité appelé *'TMNBN*[11], c'est à dire, très probablement, d'une appellation du grand dieu égyptien Atum, qu'on peut interpréter comme *'tm nb ⟨'⟩n*, 'Atum maître d'Héliopolis', en notant qu'Atum était le dieu principal de Saïs à l'époque de la XXVIe dynastie et qu'il était très souvent appelé 'maître d'Héliopolis' à l'époque tardive. Sans entrer dans plus de détails ici, et avec les réserves dues à l'état très fragmentaire de ces inscriptions, il semble bien que cette tradition littéraire égyptienne représente une sorte de roman, plus ou moins 'historique', situé dans la première moitié du VIIe s. av. J.-C.

Un graffito araméen, apparemment de même époque que l'inscription, pourrait représenter, en quelque sorte, la signature de l'un de ceux qui ont copié cette inscription; il mentionne la 'compagnie de Naqmân' (*dgl nqmn*) et semble donc renvoyer à un membre d'une compagnie de militaires/mercenaires d'une garnison perse. De fait, on peut rapprocher ce texte littéraire égyptien des fragments de l'histoire de 'Ḥor fils de Pawenesh' trouvés à Eléphantine[12] et qui semblent refléter, eux aussi, une tradition littéraire purement égyptienne.

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[10] Giron 1923, 38-43. Cette présentation préliminaire est généralement assez bonne en ce qui concerne l'aspect général des inscriptions et les quelques fragments dont il propose une lecture.

[11] Giron 1923, 40 lisait *'TMND/RN* mais, paléographiquement, la lecture *'tmnbn* semble préférable.

Ainsi, ces inscriptions se présentent-elles comme un nouveau témoignage de la transmission de traditions littéraires égyptiennes, en araméen, au sein des garnisons de l'empire Achéménide stationnées en Egypte.

ASIE MINEURE (CILICIE)

3. *La légende des monnaies dites de Datamès*

Le problème de l'origine et, surtout, du mariage de Datamès a été récemment évoqué par Briant (1987, 19). Selon Cornelius Nepos (*Datames* I; II 2-4; III 5), Datamès aurait eu un père carien, gouverneur de la partie de la Cilicie proche de la Cappadoce, auquel il succèda, et aurait été apparenté, par sa mère, à la famille du dynaste de Paphlagonie, avant de devenir l'un des chefs puis, pendant un moment (c. 374/3?), le seul chef responsable de l'organisation de la campagne contre l'Égypte.

On sait qu'un très important groupe de monnaies de Tarse est généralement attribué à Datamès (cf. Babelon 1893, xxxvii-xliii, 25-28, pl. IV; *id.* 1910, col. 403-424; Hill 1900, lxxviii-lxxxi, 167-168, pl. xxix et surtout Moysey 1986). Ces monnaies portent une légende araméenne qui a été lue très diversement: TRNŠW, TDNMW, TRNMW, TRDMW, TRKMW. Pour pouvoir identifier le nom inscrit sur cette légende avec celui de Datamès, Babelon (1910, xli; cf. Judas 1863, 114) préférait la lecture TRDMW, pour TDMW, donnant ensuite, par métathèse, *Datamou*, 'Datamès'. Cette série d'assimilations paraît assez invraisemblable et Hill[13] avait préféré revenir à la lecture TDNMW,[14] sans trop bien expliquer comment un tel nom pouvait être celui de Datamès.

Sans entrer ici dans les détails de l'analyse paléographique, et comme l'avait déjà bien vu Nöldeke (1884, 298), la lecture la plus vraisemblable paléographiquement est TD/RKMW,[15] le *d* et le *r* étant pratiquement identiques dans l'écriture araméenne du IVe s. av.n.è. Six (1884, 114, 116) en avait conclu: «Il ne reste donc qu'à lire *Tarcamo(s)* ou *Tarcommo(s)*, et dès lors toute analogie avec un nom perse et surtout avec celui de Datame disparaît complètement. *Tarcamos* ... est évidemment un prince indigène»... «roi pour les Grecs et les Ciliciens, satrape pour les Perses, exactement comme son contemporain Maussolle l'était en Carie».

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[12] Cf. *CAP* 71 et, récemment, Zauzich 1978, 33-38; Porten 1986a, 16.

[13] Hill 1900, lxxix; cf. aussi Lidzbarski 1909, 104, n.2. Cependant ce dernier a déjà reconnu dans le nom propre la présence de l'élément *muwa*.

[14] Assez bizarrement Moysey 1986 ne lit que *TDNM* sans le *W* final.

[15] Pour l'illustration de l'inscription, cf. par exemple, Jenkins 1972, no. 327; Mørkholm 1959, 197, no. 312, 313. Pour l'analyse paléographique, cf. maintenant Lemaire 489, 144-149.

Cette interprétation, reprise par Judeich (1892, 161, 209), nous semble, pour l'essentiel, justifiée quitte à la nuancer quelque peu. Alors que Datamès semble un nom perse, probablement un hypocoristique (**Datama*) de *Datamithra*,[16] 'donné par Mithra',[17] le nom TRKMW, lui, paraît un très bon nom indigène de Cilicie, composé de deux éléments bien connus dans l'onomastique louvite:
- TRK-, '*Tarḫu-*', 'le grand dieu de l'orage',[18]
- MW, '*muwa*', '*fort, force*',[19]
et signifie donc probablement «Tarḫu est fort» ou «force de Tarḫu».

Il est clair qu'il n'y a aucune assimilation phonétique possible entre le nom louvite TRKMW, 'Tarkumuwa', et le nom iranien Datama/Datamès. Dès lors nous sommes confrontés à deux interprétations historiques possibles:
- Tarkumuwa serait un dynaste local de Cilicie dont nous n'avons aucun écho par ailleurs et pouvant se rattacher, éventuellement, à la dynastie des 'Syennesis'.
- Tarkumuwa serait le nom indigène de Datamès, comme l'a déjà proposé Six; il aurait été un dynaste local remplissant les fonctions de satrape, puis de général en chef au sein de l'empire perse.

Cette dernière interprétation paraît actuellement, à cause des données numismatiques,[20] la plus vraisemblable. Elle pose concrètement le problème de l'emploi de doubles noms à l'époque perse et serait la confirmation d'une pratique politique attestée ailleurs en Asie Mineure: la nomination comme satrape d'un dynaste local préservant ainsi probablement une plus grande autonomie régionale.

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[16] On notera que le même nom, avec les deux éléments inversés: *Mithra-data* (*mtrdt*) est bien attesté en araméen d'Egypte (cf. Kornfeld 1978, 108; Segal 1983, 94, no. 71,3; Porten 1986b, 82-83).

[17] Cf. Hinz 1975a, 86. Harrison 1982, 182 a déjà remarqué que la légende araméenne ne peut pas représenter le nom 'Datames'. Nous n'avons pu consulter sa thèse non publiée, *Coins of the Persian Satraps*, Michigan, 1982(?), apparemment introuvable à Paris.

[18] Ce dieu est très bien attesté dans l'onomastique hittite et louvite (cf. Laroche 1966, 289; 1981, 3-58); à l'époque perse, il est écrit *trk-* dans l'onomastique araméenne d'Egypte (cf. Goetze 1962, 55; Grelot 1972, 494; Kornfeld 1978, 116); on le retrouve dans l'onomastique d'époque hellénistique (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961, 124-128).

[19] Pour l'élément *muwa*, cf. surtout Laroche 1966, 322-324; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 167-168. Le nom *trkmw* est probablement déjà attesté en hittite sous la forme *Tarkummuwa* (Laroche 1966, 179, no. 1285) et, en grec, sous les formes *Tarkomôs*, *Tarkimôs* (cf. Sundwall 1913, 162, 214; Zgusta 1964, 486-487); on en rapprochera en particulier *Tarkondèmos* (Zgusta 1964, §1512-8), prince de la Cilicie supérieure, et *Tarkondimôtos* (§1512-11) toparque de Cilicie.

[20] En effet, le monnayage comportant la légende *trkmw* est très abondant; de plus, il suit immédiatement celui de Pharnabaze et précède celui de Mazdaï (cf. Moysey 1986, 9, 12). Cette abondance et cette datation correspondent si bien à ce que nous savons de Datamès par les sources classiques qu'il paraît difficile qu'il ne s'agisse pas de la même personne. Pour un essai récent sur la vie de Datamès, cf. Sekunda 1988a.

4. *L'inscription de Hémite*

Cette inscription, découverte à Hémite, sur le Pyramos, à une vingtaine de kilomètres au sud de Karatépé, a été gravée sur du marbre et reste très fragmentaire.

Elle a été publiée par Dupont-Sommer (1950, 45-47 + pl.IV 3) et ne semble pas avoir été réétudiée depuis l'*editio princeps* à cause de son état trop fragmentaire.

A la ligne 4, Dupont-Sommer avait lu:]? SNMPY ḤŠTR-[et il proposait de comprendre le premier mot comme un nom propre iranien en – *pâya*, dont le premier élément ne se laisse guère identifier, et qui pourrait être le nom d'un satrape car on peut restituer ensuite: ḤŠTR[PN'], 'satra(pe)'.

Cette dernière restitution semble très probable, cependant, paléographiquement, le premier mot se lit plutôt SRMPY que SNMPY, et cette lecture donne un nom de bonne facture louvite. Il serait composé des deux éléments:

- SRM, 'Sarma', à identifier probablement avec le dieu *Šarruma*,[21]
- PY, 'piya', 'a donné'.[22]

De plus, d'après la photographie publiée, il semble possible de lire un R avant *srmpy*. On peut donc proposer de lire:

> [X b]r̊ sṛmpy ḥštr[pn'][23]
> «*[X fi]ls* de Sarmapiya le satra[pe].

Malgré son caractère fragmentaire et les incertitudes qui demeurent, cette inscription araméenne devait donc probablement donner le nom d'un satrape dont le père portait un nom louvite indigène. Nous sommes donc vraisemblablement confrontés à un nouveau cas de 'dynaste-satrape'.

5. *Les deux inscriptions araméennes de Meydancikkale*

Ces deux inscriptions araméennes, d'abord étudiées par Dupont-Sommer en 1975, sont situées, l'une, à l'entrée de la place fortifiée, dans le mur d'enceinte, l'autre, à l'entrée d'une tombe, le site de Meydancikkale, près de Gülnar, étant situé dans les montagnes de la Cilicie Trachée, à environ cinquante kilomètres à l'ouest de Silifke. Avec Lozachmeur, nous venons de publier une présentation préliminaire de ces deux inscriptions très abîmées (Davesne, Lemaire, Lozachmeur 1987, 365-377), en attendant leur publication complète prochaine. Cette publication nous permettra d'être très bref ici.

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[21] Cf. le nom du roi de Ḫilakku à l'époque d'Assurbanipal: Sanda-sarme, et le nom de Ciliciens en araméen d'Egypte: *srmnz*, 'Sarmanazi' (cf. Goetze 1962, 56) et *mwsrm*, 'Muwasarma' (cf. Kornfeld 1978, 115). Cf. aussi Laroche 1963; 1966, 293-294. On en rapprochera, en grec, des nom tels que *Trokozarmas* (Zgusta 1964, 490, § 1512-24.

[22] Cf. Laroche 1966, 317-319. On en rapprochera des noms de Ciliciens attestés en araméen d'Egypte: *pytr'nz* et *t'npy* (Goetze 1978; Kornfeld 1966, 116).

[23] Cette formule pourrait être rapprochée de celle des lignes 3-4 de l'inscription araméenne de la trilingue de Xanthos: *pgswd[r] br ktmnw ḥ̌štrpn' zy bkrk wtrmyl*..., «Pixôda(ro) fils de Katomnô, le satrape qui (gouverne) en Carie et (en) Lycie...» (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1979, 136-137). Sur l'étymologie et les diverses transcriptions du mot 'satrape' cf. Schmitt 1976. Cf. aussi Petit 1988a, 55-64.

La première inscription est une inscription officielle comportant une datation, vraisemblablement de l'an 16 (ou plus) d'Artaxerxès, sans qu'on puisse, au moins pour l'instant, prèciser de quel Artaxerxès il s'agit. Cette inscription officielle était très probablement une 'loi' (*dātāh*). Les restes très fragmentaires permettent aussi d'identifier le syntagme *kd/rš byrt'*, qui semble qualifier le site de *bīrtā'*, 'ville forte' (Lemaire, Lozachmeur 1987) et nous donne son nom: *kd/rš*.

Ces deux inscriptions permettent d'identifier cette 'ville forte' de l'époque perse avec Kirši/Kiršu, capitale traditionelle d'Appuašu, roi de Pirindu, détruite par le roi babylonien Nériglissar en 557/6 av. J.-C. (Wiseman 1956, 39-42, 74-77, 86-88; *ABC*, 103-104).

Ce site, dont l'importance à l'époque perse est confirmée par des restes de sculptures de style quasi-persépolitain (Davesne 1987, 362-5), pourrait avoir joué le rôle d'une capitale provinciale pour la région montagneuse située à l'ouest de l'embouchure du Kalykadnos, ainsi que de place forte pour surveiller la côte située juste en face de l'île de Chypre. L'empire Achéménide semble donc avoir fait jouer à ce site au moins une partie des fonctions qu'il assumait à l'époque de l'indépendance de cette région.

Ainsi, à des degrés divers et sous divers aspects, ces quelques recherches d'épigraphie araméenne semblent manifester le respect par l'empire Achéménide des traditions locales, qu'il s'agisse de la fonction des sites, du rôle des autorités locales, de la culture ou des cultes indigènes.[24]

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[24] Sur ce problème cf. récemment les réflexions de Briant 1986c; 1987. Cf. aussi Blenkinsopp 1987, 409-421.

DU BLÉ, DE L'HUILE ET DU VIN...*

(Notes sur les échanges commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale vers le milieu du 1er millénaire av. J.-C.)

Jean-François Salles — Lyon

Une approche, même timide comme celle qui suit, des échanges et courants commerciaux qu'on peut percevoir en Méditerranée orientale dans le courant du 1er millénaire avant J.-C., se doit d'éviter deux écueils. Le premier serait d'être «inspirée par l'imagination et l'extrapolation», selon la formule de Elayi (1988, 61); pour pallier ce danger, notre étude essaiera de s'appuyer le plus possible sur des objets archéologiques tout à fait communs, des vases-conteneurs, sans décor le plus souvent et sans caractères très spécifiques. La banalité de tels récipients les a généralement conduits à être négligés par les fouilleurs, bien que cette tendance semble vouloir s'inverser actuellement; peut-être est-ce par contre-coup que les historiens les ont ignorés,[1] méconnaissant ainsi une partie importante des réalités régionales. Car c'est bien là le second écueil à éviter: ne prendre en compte que les échanges internationaux (au sens qu'il faut donner à ce terme à l'époque, par ex.: Grèce-Phénicie, ou Méditerranée orientale-Occident) conduirait à ce que «l'arbre cache la forêt», et à méconnaître la complexité des composantes régionales: même dans les études historiques les plus récentes, les circuits commerciaux en Méditerranée orientale à partir du début du 1er millénaire av. J.-C. ne sont souvent analysés que par le biais de la diffusion des céramiques grecques au Proche-Orient. Cet outil méthodologique est, nous le verrons, dangereusement réducteur, et rejette dans l'ombre ce qui constitue la réelle vitalité historique de cette partie de la Méditerranée: les innombrables itinéraires et échanges inter-régionaux qui relient entre elles l'Egypte, la côte syro-phénicienne, Chypre, la Palestine, les côtes anatoliennes et l'Asie Mineure.

Une telle mise en œuvre unilatérale des documents archéologiques aboutit à énoncer des vérités parfois contestables, qui pourraient devenir des *factoids*,[2] si l'on n'y prenait pas garde. Affirmer, par exemple, que «les Phéniciens [...] n'avaient pas sur mer de concurrents sérieux dans les régions voisines» (Elayi

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* Seules les deux premières parties de cette trilogie furent présentées lors de la rencontre de Groningen, en 1988. C'est la même analyse qui constitue la matière du présent article, augmentée de quelques remarques préliminaires; le développement sur le vin, ainsi que des réflexions complémentaires sur l'organisation du commerce, feront l'objet d'une seconde intervention lors de la prochaine *Achaemenid History Workshop* (Ann Arbor 1990).

[1] Ils sont absents dans l'ouvrage de Elayi précédemment cité.

[2] «... mere speculations or guesses which have been repeated so often that they are eventually taken as hard facts», Maier 1985, 32.

1988, 68) est faire bien peu de cas des talents maritimes des Chypriotes ou des Egyptiens, souvent mentionnés dans les textes, pour ne pas parler de ceux des Grecs d'Asie Mineure, dont les activités sur la côte orientale de la Méditerranée sont attestées depuis le début du millénaire.[3] Fonder sur une seule brève mention de Thucydide (II 69)[4] l'existence d'une «grande route de la Méditerranée orientale» (Elayi 1988, 83), qui serait même «protégée par des flottes de guerre puissantes et redoutées» (*ibid.*, 62-63), revient à ignorer, outre le caractère caboteur du commerce dit de longue-distance, la segmentation des parcours et des échanges que nous essaierons de démontrer plus loin; il faut se garder de raisonner en termes de transport maritime contemporain, même si les navires grecs ou phéniciens étaient, eux aussi, capables d'emporter des cargaisons d'une seule traite à travers la Méditerranée. Enfin, parmi d'autres exemples, tenter de démontrer une «baisse des importations chypriotes dans les cités phéniciennes au V^e siècle» (Elayi 1986) à partir de l'exemple de la céramique décorée[5] est une tâche impossible et, de plus, contraire à la philosophie de l'auteur: «Il ne faut jamais perdre de vue, comme on le fait trop souvent, les difficultés que présente l'étude des échanges commerciaux dans l'Antiquité, qui ne peut s'appuyer que sur une partie des biens non périssables, qui ne constituent eux-mêmes qu'une partie du volume total des biens échangés» (*ibid.*, 67).

S'il convient donc de réfuter, au passage, quelques assertions peu fondées pour éviter qu'elles ne se transforment en *factoids*, il faut d'abord s'attacher à mettre en place les cadres géographiques et, autant que possible, économiques du problème. Le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée compte des régions très variées aux spécialités diverses, mais toutes unies par le même paysage agraire (sauf l'Egypte): céréales, olivier, vigne, arbres fruitiers, moutons et chèvres, produits de la mer. On est donc en droit de s'interroger sur les raisons et les modalités qui régissent les échanges de ces besoins primaires (blé, huile, vin), tels qu'ils ressortent de la circulation des vases-conteneurs. De nombreux paramètres historiques interviennent certainement: variations démographiques, fluctuations politiques, etc., qui ont souvent été étudiés ailleurs.[6] Mon propos sera plus prosaïque, et tentera d'éclairer un peu le foisonnement du négoce maritime en Méditerranée orientale vers le milieu du 1er millénaire av. J.-C. Au cours de cette démarche, il sera peut-être possible de mieux comprendre qui étaient ces commerçants et quels étaient leurs mobiles, et d'envisager des continuités ou des ruptures, même si des études quantitatives paraissent prématurées. Les historiens classiques s'accordent à considérer que les échanges entre la Grèce et le Proche-Orient n'ont pas été affectés par la conquête perse (par ex., Perreault 1986, 168): qu'en est-il des circuits inter-régionaux?

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[3] Au début du V^e siècle av. J.-C., «... les échanges avec le Proche-Orient sont toujours ... entre les mains des marchands des différentes cités d'Asie Mineure (et non d'Athéniens), qui transportaient, à l'occasion, des marchandises en provenance d'Athènes,» Perreault 1986, 168 (qui cite, dans le même sens, Boardman et Picard). Voir Hopper 1979, 43 pour le VII^e-VI^e siècle av. J.-C.

[4] Le texte ne fait état que d'une opération de police maritime sur les côtes de Carie et de Lycie, zone particulièrement active du transit commercial, où sévissaient cette année-là (430/429 av. J.-C.) des pirates péloponnésiens; la flotte athénienne chargée de protéger les cargos civils était réduite à six vaisseaux.

[5] Dont on sait depuis longtemps qu'elle perd de son importance dans les productions chypriotes à partir du V^e siècle av. J.-C., par ex. Gjerstad, *SCE* IV 2, 487. Je reviendrai sur l'importance qu'il faut accorder à la céramique dans la seconde partie de cette étude.

[6] Travaux de Finley, dont les vues minimalistes sur le rôle du commerce international à l'époque classique ne sont plus communément acceptées comme jadis. Un survol récent des théories et écoles de pensée est présenté par Andreau et Etienne 1984.

REMARQUES PRELIMINAIRES

'Les mers' de la Méditerranée orientale

En décrivant les espaces maritimes de la Méditerranée à l'époque romaine, Rougé (1966, 43) ne dénombre pas moins d'une dizaine d'appellations régionales à l'est de la Grèce: mers thrace, Egée, de Myrto, icarienne, crétoise, carpathique, lybienne, égyptienne, phénicienne, chypriote, et pamphilienne ou lycienne (Fig. 1). L'auteur souligne l'origine hellénique de toutes ces dénominations, qui «doivent appartenir à une époque où le cabotage était la condition normale de l'activité des navigateurs» (*ibid.*, 45). Il est assuré que, vers le milieu du 1er millénaire av. J.-C., la navigation côtière prévalait encore sur les traversées en haute mer, bien que les techniques de construction navale aient permis l'existence de navires de moyen tonnage aptes à de longs voyages hauturiers;[7] seules des méthodes encore peu perfectionnées de navigation — maintien des caps, évaluation des distances, du temps, de la latitude, etc. — rendaient hasardeuses des aventures loin des côtes que les marins étaient peu nombreux à préférer.[8]

La segmentation de la Méditerranée orientale et les nécessités de la navigation côtière ne signifiaient pas, pour autant, que chacune de ces 'mers' était autonome et fermée aux autres; l'histoire des relations des Grecs avec l'Est: colonisation de l'Asie Mineure et de la Cyrénaïque, établissements de comptoirs en Syrie et en Egypte, etc., en administre la preuve contraire. Mais ces appellations qui définissent des aires maritimes restreintes laissent supposer une spécificité de l'espace ainsi désigné, qu'on peut interpréter de deux manières, entre autres. L'une pourrait être l'hypothèse d'une 'zone maritime privilégiée pour une communauté de marins', celle où ils ont leurs ports d'attache, leurs habitudes, la meilleure connaissance du milieu, celle où ils naviguent le plus souvent:[9] c'est une évidence, qu'il est utile de rappeler. L'autre suggestion pourrait être celle d'une sorte de marché préférentiel où s'effectueraient la plupart des échanges qui ne relèvent pas du commerce de longue-distance; ces espaces marins restreints seraient les lieux de prédilection du commerce régional. Quelques exemples peuvent aider à mieux comprendre cette hypothèse.

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[7] Parmi les sources, on se reportera aux informations fournies par le *Périple* du Pseudo-Scylax, *GGM*. Sur les techniques de navigation, l'ouvrage essentiel de Casson 1971 doit être complété désormais par l'indispensable Basch 1987.

[8] Certes, les Phéniciens avaient exploré la Méditerranée occidentale dès le IX^{e} siècle au moins, mais ce n'est qu'au terme d'un long parcours mouvementé et parsemé d'escales que Didon-Elissa fonda Carthage; et l'archéologie témoigne de la régularité des étapes côtières dans la progression phénico-punique vers le Maroc et l'Espagne. Voir récemment Bunnens 1979, ou Niemeyer 1982.

a) Dans la 'mer égyptienne', les relations semblent particulièrement intenses entre l'île de Chypre et le delta du Nil depuis le VIII^{e} s. av. J.-C. au moins jusqu'à la prise de possession de Chypre par les Lagides. Si l'on s'en tient aux trouvailles archéologiques, la documentation disponible fait apparaître une importante disproportion quantitative entre les objets égyptiens retrouvés en très grand nombre à Chypre et ceux, moins nombreux, recueillis sur la côte syro-palestinienne, en tout cas pour les siècles concernés (VI^{e}-IV^{e}).[10] Rejeter la responsabilité de cet état de fait sur l'insuffisance des recherches de terrain ou la pauvreté des rapports de fouilles (Elayi 1988, 11-12) s'avère un artifice facile, surtout pour Chypre et la Palestine, intensément explorées, et le déséquilibre constaté paraît, au contraire, refléter une réelle différence dans les circuits de navigation, voire dans les échanges d'hommes et d'idées. On a souligné récemment les rapports très étroits qui unissaient l'Egypte et la cité étéo-chypriote d'Amathonte, où les cultes et d'autres manifestations culturelles (sculpture, architecture, etc.) témoignent de profondes influences en provenance de la vallée du Nil aux époques archaïque et classique.[11] Les découvertes archéologiques témoignent aussi de contacts soutenus entre l'Egypte et la phénicienne Kition (voir note 10), plus, semble-t-il, que la vallée du Nil n'en eut avec n'importe quel site de la côte continentale opposée. Vers la fin du III^{e} s. av. J.-C. par exemple, les clients d'un *kentro* situé près du port de la ville consommaient des poissons du Nil.[12]

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[9] Rien à voir, pourtant, avec une quelconque notion d'eaux territoriales, qui paraît difficilement soutenable à cette époque, sauf, peut-être, pour quelques cités (Elayi 1988, 62-63). Dans les textes grecs, la 'protection' institutionnelle ne semble pas dépasser les abords géographiques du port, golfe ou baie: voir l'exemple de Iasos, cité par Vélissaropoulos 1977, 69-70.

[10] Leclant souhaitait dès 1972 une étude des objets égyptiens recueillis à Chypre. Un début d'inventaire chypriote est présenté dans le deuxième volume des fouilles de Kition, par Clerc *et al.* 1976. On peut regretter l'absence de telles publications pour la Phénicie ou la Palestine, où les trouvailles égyptiennes sont nombreuses; ces inventaires éviteraient un fastidieux recours aux nombreux rapports de fouilles.

[11] Aupert 1986. L'auteur suggère (p. 373) un relais palestino-phénicien dans la diffusion du culte d'Hathor vers Amathonte. Cette hypothèse est-elle vraiment nécessaire? L'archéologie ne paraît pas justifier un tel détour, mais plutôt des relations directes entre Chypre et l'Egypte, comme semble le démontrer, par ex. Hermary 1985.

[12] Fouilles françaises de Kition-Bamboula, vol. IV: *Les niveaux hellénistiques*, à paraître.

On pourrait multiplier les exemples qui démontrent l'étroitesse des relations entre Chypre et l'Egypte. Cependant, de telles constatations ne doivent pas conduire à de fausses interprétations, comme à ne tenir compte que des échanges égypto-chypriotes au détriment d'autres échanges égypto-phéniciens ou chypro-phéniciens; on constate seulement, à l'intérieur de la 'mer égyptienne', l'existence de circuits privilégiés de la navigation et du commerce maritime, qui paraissent associer l'Egypte et Chypre en une sorte de marché préférentiel, beaucoup plus actif, apparemment, que celui de l'Egypte sur la côte du Levant.

b) La 'mer phénicienne' ou 'syrienne', qui s'étend depuis la région de Lattaquieh en Syrie jusqu'au delta du Nil est connue de longue date et paraît très spécifique elle aussi. Au-delà de l'histoire du royaume de Byblos tellement imbriquée avec celle de l'Egypte, on peut citer plusieurs textes ougaritiques qui définissent les étapes de la navigation dans cet espace maritime: Byblos, Tyr, ʿAkko, Jaffa, etc.[13] A l'époque néo-assyrienne, le traité octroyé par Esarhaddon au roi Baal de Tyr fixe précisément les limites de son domaine: «These are the ports of trade and the trade routes which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [entrusted] to his servant Baal: to ʿAkko, Dor, to the entire district of the Philistines, and to all the cities within the territory on the seacoast, and to Byblos, the Lebanon, all the cities in the mountains, all (these) cities being cities of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria» (*SAA*, II, no. 5): il n'est en aucun cas question de Chypre ou d'autres territoires plus lointains, et Tyr appartient clairement, dans ce contexte, à la 'mer phénicienne'. On verra plus loin, à partir d'exemples précis, l'intensité des échanges dans cet espace maritime, en particulier en ce qui concerne les grains et le vin. Une fois de plus, il faut se garder des contresens: ces références ne remettent pas en cause les liens bien connus de Tyr avec Chypre,[14] l'Asie mineure ou l'Occident, mais elles tracent les limites d'un territoire de navigation et de commerce privilégié le long de la côte de la Méditerranée orientale, apparemment indépendant des circuits qui unissaient cette même côte à l'Egypte ou à Chypre, ou même, pour la période pré-achéménide, à la Syrie du Nord: Buhl suggère en effet que la métropole phénicienne n'avait que peu de relations avec le Nord à l'âge du Fer (1983, 124).

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[13] «Au roi d'Ugarit ... Message du roi de Tyr, ton frère ... Le vaisseau solide que tu avais envoyé vers l'Egypte, voilà que celui-là même, à Tyr, a accosté: dans une averse violente il avait été pris ... Que si ton vaisseau mouille à ʿAkko sans chargement ..., Lipiński 1967, 283.

[14] Voir les remarques de Braemer sur la circulation de la céramique phénicienne fine à l'âge du Fer, 1986: l'auteur constate un triangle de prédilection Tyr-Chypre-Al-Mina, en dehors duquel la diffusion de ce type de poterie est peu courante, et envisage l'hypothèse d'un circuit maritime avec un cheminement inverse à celui de la céramique grecque et chypriote (1986, 246). Ceci rendrait mal compte de la diffusion, souvent abondante, de ces deux derniers types hors de ce circuit restreint. Peut-être, dans le cas précis de la céramique à engobe rouge phénicienne, les principes de diffusion sont-ils à rechercher en dehors de strictes raisons commerciales? Voir plus loin les remarques sur le rôle qu'on peut attribuer à la poterie.

c) Il pourrait paraître superflu de rappeler l'importance de la 'mer chypriote' (Mer de Chypre, Hdt. I 72), qui unit la côte orientale de l'île et celles de la Phénicie centrale et septentrionale, jusqu'aux Portes de Cilicie. Sans doute convient-il, pour l'âge du Fer (IX^e-VI^e s. av. J.-C.) et la période achéménide, de modifier la proposition cartographique de Rougé (1966, 43), et d'étendre cet espace maritime jusqu'à la plaine de ʿAkko, au sud;[15] il y a superposition des mers chypriote et phénicienne, ce qui ne saurait étonner étant donné le caractère éminemment phénicien de Chypre généralement, et de Kition particulièrement, jusqu'au V^e s. av. J.-C. au moins (Yon 1987, et sous presse). A l'intérieur de cette zone, les échanges commerciaux et culturels sont extrêmement nombreux dans les deux sens, plus, semble-t-il, que ceux qui unissent Chypre et la côte palestinienne; plusieurs exemples seront relevés plus loin.

Par ailleurs, Briant, dans ce volume, insiste sur le rôle politique que jouait la partie septentrionale de la 'mer chypriote' au temps des souverains achéménides: elle servait à la fois de débouché à la route royale venant de Babylonie — moins d'ailleurs, comme le remarque justement l'auteur, pour les marchands que pour les militaires et diplomates — et de base militaire et navale pour les forces des grands rois en lutte contre les multiples révoltes locales qui agitèrent cette partie de l'empire (Egypte, Chypre, Phénicie, etc.). Enfin, l'une des particularités de la partie cilicienne de la 'mer de Chypre' est qu'elle est, à cette époque et plus anciennement comme en témoignent les nombreuses importations grecques à al-Mina dès le VIII^e s. av. J.-C., plus largement ouverte vers l'Ouest que ne l'étaient 'la mer phénicienne' ou la 'mer égyptienne' (sans entrer dans le détail d'une définition exacte de cette notion d'Ouest, Grèce d'Asie mineure ou Grèce continentale); sans évoquer à nouveau le 'boulevard' maritime cité plus haut (voir note 4), il faut souligner que c'est par la 'mer de Chypre' (l'île elle-même incluse) que se sont établis la plupart des contacts entre le monde grec et le Proche Orient, avant et pendant l'époque achéménide.

d) On pourrait multiplier les aperçus sur ces circuits maritimes régionaux ou inter-régionaux en Méditerranée orientale; on rappellera seulement, pour finir, l'imbrication entre la 'mer égyptienne' et la 'mer carpathique' ou rhodienne, qui mettent en contact direct le monde égéo-grec et l'Egypte. Historiquement, la politique maritime de la puissance saïte — alliances avec la Lydie, tentatives de rapprochement avec les Grecs d'Asie, accueil de mercenaires grecs, fondation de Naukratis, etc. — pouvait servir, entre autres raisons, à encadrer des circuits commerciaux égyptiens en Méditerranée orientale, comme l'a démontré récemment Wallinga (1987). D'un point de vue archéologique, et sans évoquer le problème maintes fois étudié de la diffusion de la céramique gréco-orientale, il est tout à fait significatif de constater, entre autres exemples de circuits, l'évolution de la production et de la distribution des flacons anthropomorphes en faïence ou en verre entre l'Egypte et Rhodes, du VII^e au VI^e s. av. J.-C. (Webb 1980).

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[15] Sur les relations politiques entre ʿAkko et Chypre, plus précisément Kition, voir Guzzo Amadasi et Karageorghis 1977, spécialement p. 146, à propos d'une lecture possible mentionnant un *envoyé* (ou *ministre*, ou *ambassadeur*?) de ʿAkko à Kition; ceci renforcerait l'hypothèse de l'indépendance du royaume de ʿAkko, placé sur le même pied que celui de Tyr, qui possédait lui aussi un envoyé à Kition (sur ce sujet, récemment, Dothan 1985, références p. 93). Sur les échanges commerciaux entre ces deux régions, voir plus loin pour l'huile d'olive.

Ainsi, avant même d'aborder l'étude de quelques-uns des produits échangés et de proposer quelques réflexions sur la nature du commerce régional, ce survol rapide et incomplet des circuits maritimes en Méditerranée orientale permet-il d'apercevoir une donnée majeure. On n'a pas rencontré jusqu'à ce point, ou seulement incidemment, de routes de navigation vers l'Ouest, non pour rejeter ou minimiser l'impact et l'importance du commerce lointain avec les cités grecques ou ioniennes, ou avec l'Occident phénico-punique, mais pour le restituer dans une optique différente. Le courant commercial international (= lointain, même entre Tyr et ses possessions puniques) doit se concevoir comme un *mouvement* (ou un ensemble de mouvements) *rectiligne*, ou linéaire: allers et retours entre deux (ou plus) ports éloignés les uns des autres, routes régulières, circuits habituels ... Au contraire, ce qu'on commence à entrevoir à l'intérieur de la Méditerranée orientale est un véritable *mouvement 'brownien'*, dans toutes les directions, le long d'itinéraires sinueux, complexes et irréguliers. Ces deux ensembles d'échanges ne s'excluent pas l'un l'autre, et il est certain qu'ils se croisent et se fondent en de nombreuses occasions; mais il ne faut pas négliger l'un au profit de l'autre (ou vice-versa), sous peine de tomber dans des simplifications excessives.[16]

Produits, producteurs et marchands

Comme on l'a souligné plus haut, les pays riverains de la Méditerranée orientale appartiennent tous à la même aire climatique et sont donc, peu ou prou, producteurs des mêmes denrées alimentaires essentielles. On ne reviendra pas sur la légendaire richesse de l'Egypte en céréales: amidonnier, engrain, diverses variétés d'orge, etc. «De toute la terre on vint en Egypte pour acheter du grain à Joseph, car la famine s'aggravait sur toute la terre» (*Gén.* 41. 57). Au temps d'Auguste, Strabon affirme que l'île de Chypre est capable de se suffire en grains.[17] Pour des époques plus anciennes, les vestiges paléo-botaniques sont nombreux qui permettent de dresser un bilan évocateur des plantes cultivées, au 1^{er} millénaire (Hjelmqvist 1973) ou à l'âge du Bronze

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[16] Voir les remarques dans l'introduction de cet article.

[17] XIV, 5, 6. L'auteur relève pourtant que le défrichement de l'île pourrait être relativement récent; selon lui, Eratosthène fait état de plaines recouvertes de forêts et impropres à l'agriculture. Mais à combien de temps remonte le *to palaion* d'Eratosthène?

(*ibid.* 1979): le blé et l'orge, sous différentes espèces, y occupent une part importante. L'archéologie, d'autre part, a fourni sa moisson d'informations pour les périodes historiques: au Bronze récent, par exemple, l'outillage de mouture en pierre abonde dans les sites de la riche plaine de Larnaca, à Kition (Elliott, *Kition* V, 295-316) et à Hala Sultan Tekke, où des restes de céréales ont été retrouvés (Hjelmqvist *loc. cit*, avec bibliographie antérieure). Dans les textes les plus anciens, la Bible présente la Palestine comme le «pays de froment et d'orge»... «où le pain ne te sera pas mesuré» (*Deut.* 8. 8); des innovations techniques importantes y ont permis le développement d'une agriculture intensive à l'âge du Fer (Borowski 1987, 6-10). S'il est vrai que l'étroite plaine côtière du Liban, entre Sidon et Tripoli fut de tous temps consacrée à l'olivier et à la vigne plus qu'aux céréales, celles-ci étaient sans doute présentes dans la plaine intérieure de la Bekaa et en Syrie du Nord, dans les pays d'Amrith, de Lattaquieh, etc., qui devinrent l'un des greniers à blé du monde romain (Strabon XVI 2,9 pour la région de Laodicée). Les blés d'Asie Mineure, en provenance des plaines côtières de la Cilicie jusqu'au Pont-Euxin, apparaissent souvent chez les auteurs anciens, d'Hérodote à Strabon: on se référera, par exemple, aux cartes de répartition présentées par Amouretti (1986, 47-49). Ainsi, à part le cas limite de la Phénicie centrale, aucun des pays riverains de la Méditerranée orientale n'est-il naturellement déficitaire en céréales, blés ou orges, et chacun est-il même capable de produire des surplus, y compris la Grèce archaïque.[18] De façon apparemment donc paradoxale, le commerce des grains s'opère entre des pays qui sont tous producteurs, et parfois surproducteurs[19] de céréales.

Il en va de même pour les produits de l'olivier et pour le vin.[20] Seule l'Egypte n'a pas connu l'oléiculture et l'olivier y est toujours resté une rareté, malgré des tentatives d'acclimation dès la XVIII^e dynastie (Ahituv 1978, 98). Des silos à olives ont été retrouvés dans certains sites néolithiques de Chypre, où l'archéologie a livré de nombreuses traces d'oléiculture du Bronze récent à la période Chypro-Classique (Hadjisavvas 1988, 111-112).

L'olivier et son huile sont l'une des séductions de la Terre Promise des Hébreux, et les noyaux du fruit abondent dans tous les sites de Palestine, du Chalcolithique à l'époque hellénistique (Borowski 1987, 117-126). Il est difficile de savoir sur quelle base historique fonder l'affirmation de Elayi selon laquelle les cités phéniciennes «manquent [d'huile] dans l'ensemble» (1988,

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[18] Bravo 1983, 17: «... il est raisonnable de penser que des marchands grecs, aux VIII^e-VII^e siècles, ... allaient vendre au Proche Orient du *biotos* et acheter des *athurmata*», c'est-à-dire échanger des excédents de nourriture (grains) contre des objets de luxe.

[19] Terme qu'il ne faut pas comprendre dans un sens moderne: 'montants compensatoires' du Marché Commun, ou excédents pétroliers du marché de Rotterdam, mais bien, à cette époque, comme l'aubaine d'une bonne récolte qui peut, *immédiatement*, rapporter des profits si on s'en donne la peine!

[20] Le problème du vin sera abordé dans la seconde partie de l'article.

72). Certes, le roi de Tyr Hiram reçut «vingt mille mesures d'huile vierge» en paiement du roi Salomon (I *Rois* 5. 25), mais ceci ne concerne qu'une seule cité de Phénicie centrale.[21] Le rôle de l'oléiculture à Ougarit a été récemment mis en lumière, tant dans l'habitat au cœur même de la ville (Callot 1987) que dans l'économie de la cité (Heltzer 1987, 117: «our general impression is that the production of olive oil in Ugarit was a very important branch of the economy of the state»). L'histoire de la production d'huile d'olive en Syrie du Nord aux époques romaine et byzantine a été remarquablement décrite par Callot (1984, 7-16). Pour la Grèce et l'Asie mineure, on se reportera une fois de plus aux analyses de Amouretti (1986, 41-46), sans négliger les commentaires de Théophraste sur le sujet; au IV^e s. av. J.-C., les huiles de Samos et de Carie étaient réputées d'après Athénée citant Antiphane et Ophélion (*Deip.* II 66-67). Sous toutes ses formes, communes ou rares, et quels que soient ses usages (alimentation, combustible, parfumerie, médecine, culte, etc.), l'huile d'olive apparaît comme un produit spécifique et de semi-luxe, qui fait l'objet d'échanges entre pays voisins tous (ou presque) 'spécialisés' dans cette production.[22]

C'est là une donnée importante qu'il faut garder en mémoire lorsqu'on envisage les courants commerciaux portant sur des produits périssables: pour les deux denrées de base précédemment citées — et pour d'autres sans doute, avec les réserves nécessaires: Egypte, Phénicie centrale — aucun des pays riverains de la Méditerranée orientale n'est structuralement déficitaire. A la différence de ce qui se passe pour les métaux, les parfums ou autres marchandises rares, les échanges ne s'effectuent pas entre régions 'qui ont' et régions 'qui n'ont pas' (notion de *have* et *have not* dans l'économie moderne), mais bien entre pays producteurs.[23] Un tel phénomène ne peut qu'affecter profondément la nature du commerce international ou régional: idée d'offre et de demande, motivations des producteurs et marchands, politiques commerciales, etc.

Mais la généralisation de la production des grains et de l'huile d'olive sur tout le pourtour méditerranéen n'exclut pas les déficits, loin de là. Chacun sait la variabilité du climat en Méditerranée et les alternances de sécheresses, d'hivers trop froids, d'étés trop arrosés, de printemps trop hâtifs, de rivières qui débordent ou qui n'arrosent plus, etc.;[24] la production est par définition imprévisible et précaire, c'est-à-dire faite de déficits graves ou de surplus. Les échos des périodes de disette sont nombreux dans la littérature grecque (entre autres, Jameson 1983), et les famines sont fréquemment évoquées dans les textes égyptiens; la Bible a conservé le souvenir des «vaches de belle apparence et grasses de chair» et des «laides d'apparence et maigres de chair», ou des «épis pleins et beaux et desséchés, grêlés et brûlés par le vent d'est» (*Gén.* 41).[25] Il est évident que ces alternances de périodes de déficits et de phases plus heureuses sont l'un des moteurs essentiels des échanges inter-régionaux, sans négliger pourtant, dans cette optique, les données élémentaires de la climatologie; les calamités naturelles sont rarement sélectives et les événements météorologiques affectent généralement de vastes régions: ce qui peut être vrai dans le cas de pays éloignés comme la Grèce et l'Egypte, qui peuvent ne pas connaître au même moment sécheresses ou inondations, ne l'est pas nécessairement de la Palestine à la Phénicie, sans doute touchées en même temps par les mêmes malheurs.

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[21] D'après le géographe Weulersse (cité par Heltzer 1987, 106), un tiers du territoire cultivable syro-libanais était planté en oliviers en 1938.

[22] Un peu comme si on cherchait à comprendre, aujourd'hui, les courants d'échanges pétroliers entre pays producteurs de pétrole.

[23] Même dans le cas du commerce des grains entre la Grèce et le Proche Orient à l'époque des guerres médiques, voir plus loin.

[24] Détails climatiques dans Amouretti 1986, 17-25, qui commente: «Il est rare qu'une récolte échappe successivement à tous les dangers qui la guettent, a souligné F. Braudel dans des pages célèbres, tandis que tout le poème d'Hésiode est sous le signe de cette précarité: malgré le travail accompli, jamais on ne peut être sûr que la récolte sera suffisante et que les jarres seront remplies» (p. 25).

Outre les accidents naturels, les événements politico-militaires contribuent à dérégler les rythmes productifs. Bravo rappelle une anecdote rapportée par Hérodote selon laquelle les Lydiens auraient dévasté pendant douze années consécutives les champs des Milésiens (1983, 20); quelques siècles auparavant, Samson incendia aussi bien les gerbes que le blé sur pied, les vignes et les oliviers des Philistins (*Jug.* 15. 5). La multiplication des conflits 'internationaux' ou locaux en Méditerranée orientale (cf. les sources néo-assyriennes et néo-babyloniennes, Hérodote, la Bible, etc.) ne pouvait que répéter ces catastrophes économiques et rendre encore plus critique une précarité déjà naturelle.

Il faudrait évoquer enfin, avec prudence, le poids des tributs. Le système atteint son apogée au temps de la domination achéménide, et Briant (1988c, 178) rappelle brièvement les populations tributaires touchées de plein fouet par les conséquences les plus déplorables des opérations militaires. Il est difficile de quantifier une telle charge, les textes grecs ou bibliques étant peu explicites sur ce problème (mais voir *Néhémie* 5. 1-3), qui a pu, parfois, déséquilibrer les systèmes productifs régionaux. Les documents araméens d'Egypte, qui reflètent souvent les rapports entre l'administration perse et la population, font état de transactions ou de livraisons de froment (par ex. no. 109, Grelot 1972, 504-505; p. 266-274 pour l'organisation de la perception de l'orge), mais ne semblent pas évoquer de 'plaintes' contre la pression tributaire.

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[25] Très évocateurs sont également les avertissements du prophète Amos, au VIII^{e} s. av. J-C., qui fait dire à Yawhé: «Je vous ai refusé la pluie à trois mois de la moisson ...; tel champ recevait de la pluie, tel autre à qui je n'en donnais pas se desséchait ...; je vous ai frappé de brûlure et d'échaudage, j'ai desséché vos jardins et vos vignes; vos figuiers, vos oliviers, la sauterelle les a dévorés ...» (*Am.* 4. 7-10).

Face aux pénuries, l'intervention de l'État est rare. La sagesse de Joseph, dans la Génèse, permet de survivre aux années de sécheresse, mais d'autres récits racontent le vide des réserves. Comme le rappelle Briend, l'alliance entre Hiram de Tyr et Salomon de Jérusalem n'illustre que les bonnes relations entre les deux rois, et ne constitue nullement un traité commercial qui pourrait pallier les insuffisances de l'un ou de l'autre (1987, col. 438). Les souverains achéménides se sont souciés d'approvisionner régulièrement et de constituer des réserves pour leurs garnisons réparties sur tout l'empire (Briant 1988c, 171), mais le sort des populations locales demeure incertain. Dès le VI^e^ s. av. J.-C., la Grèce eut besoin de plus de grains qu'elle n'en produisait: une solution pouvait être la conquête, comme celle de l'Eubée par Athènes au V^e^ siècle, et même en période de pénurie, l'état athénien ne manquait pas de percevoir des taxes sur les convois de grains qui arrivaient au Pirée, malgré la hausse consécutive des prix au détail (Gernet 1909 [1979], 349, 356); Jameson (1983) constate l'incapacité de la plupart des cités grecques à prévoir la famine et leur incompétence à y faire face. Le plus souvent, la survie était affaire individuelle, comme le mentionnent certaines biographies laudatives de bourgeois [égyptiens] ... qui donnèrent du pain à l'affamé (*Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, par G. Posener, collab. S. Sauneron et J. Yoyotte, éd. F. Hazan, Paris, 1959, *s.v.* 'alimentation'). C'est dans ce cadre qu'il faut replacer les initiatives commerciales régionales.

C'est également d'aventures personnelles qu'il s'agit quand la chance de surplus survient au lieu de la famine, si l'on en croit certaines théories récentes sur la naissance du commerce dans la Grèce archaïque. «A mon avis, ceux qui avaient des produits à vendre, susceptibles de rencontrer les besoins et les goûts d'acheteurs grecs ou barbares, avaient normalement de très bonnes chances de les vendre avec profit, à un endroit ou à un autre, en contre-partie d'autres produits» expose Bravo (1983, 25); les nobles terriens de la Grèce archaïque disposant d'excédents (céréales, huile, produits manufacturés), auraient tenté eux-mêmes (le frère de Sappho, le pauvre noble Hésiode, Solon en personne) ou auraient chargé des hommes à eux de les écouler pour accroître leurs revenus et leur mode de vie nobiliaire (Bravo 1977). L'hypothèse n'est pas unanimement acceptée, en particulier pour ce qu'elle implique du contexte social et politique (par ex. Cartledge 1983); d'autres contestent même, avec beaucoup de pertinence, l'existence d'un véritable commerce[26] organisé dans la Grèce archaïque, interprétant, par exemple, les nombreux transports de marbre et de fer connus par les textes ou l'archéologie comme des arrangements entre un commanditaire et un client, et non comme un échange commercial (Snodgrass 1983). Sans entrer dans le détail de cette discussion propre à la Grèce archaïque, avant que le commerce ne s'organise vraiment au temps des guerres médiques (Hopper 1979, ch. II), il faut en retenir deux éléments importants: les échanges portent sur des surplus de denrées de base (ou sur des produits manquants: marbre, fer, etc., mais ce n'est pas mon propos ici) et, jusqu'au VI^{e} siècle, ils sont le plus souvent le fait d'initiatives individuelles le long de circuits variables.[27]

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[26] Au sens moderne du terme, c'est-à-dire la diffusion de produits sur un marché quelconque, sans tenir compte des acheteurs éventuels; en fait, des négociations de marchands à marchands, et non des échanges entre producteurs et consommateurs, plus proches d'un troc direct (même monétarisé) que du commerce. A la fin de ce remarquable article, Snodgrass (1983) s'interroge sur la validité de son hypothèse pour d'autres populations que les Grecs, les Phéniciens en particulier; la question n'est pas posée dans l'ouvrage de Elayi (1988), qui accepte le caractère marchand des Phéniciens comme un axiome incontournable.

Peut-on projeter ces hypothèses en Méditerranée orientale, et les appliquer aux Phéniciens, aux Chypriotes, aux Egyptiens ou aux Hébreux? La documentation est trop rare pour apporter des réponses précises, bien que quelques éléments existent. Ce sont les excédents de l'agriculture palestinienne qui sont à l'origine des échanges entre Jérusalem et Tyr (Elat 1979, 545); comme on le verra plus loin, ce sont certainement des surplus d'huile d'olive et de vin qui circulent d'une région productrice à l'autre. Quant aux initiatives individuelles, sans remonter à Sinouhé ou à Wen-Amon dont les aventures révèlent des mobiles mercantiles autant que politiques,[28] il suffit de parcourir les témoignages écrits concernant des Phéniciens dans le monde grec (Elayi 1988, 86-88; Masson 1969; Baslez 1982) ou des Kitiens impliqués dans le commerce oriental (Nicolau 1986; Pouilloux 1988; Yon, sous presse); je reviendrai brièvement sur ce problème dans la seconde partie de cet article, en essayant de comprendre qui sont les agents du commerce. Mais c'est sans doute par le biais des vestiges archéologiques qu'on peut mieux tenter de cerner ces échanges régionaux.

'Bols perses' et commerce des grains

Le terme 'Persian bowls' dans la terminologie anglo-saxonne, parfois remplacé par celui de 'mortar',[29] désigne un type céramique très caractéristique et très répandu: forme conique simple, parois épaisses et lourdes, bord épaissi, aspect massif parfois atténué par quelques cannelures extérieures (Fig. 2); l'impression qui prévaut est celle d'une fabrication peu soignée pour des objets dont la mission était d'être stables (voir note 34) et, peut-être, durables. Le type apparaît en Palestine du Sud (Ashdod) et à Chypre (Salamine) dès la fin du VIII^e^ s. av. J.-C., et on le rencontre dans toute la Méditerranée orientale jusqu'à la fin du IV^e^ s., exceptionnellement au III^e^ siècle (à ma connaissance, un exemplaire sûr à Kition et quelques fragments de stratigraphie douteuse à Tell Keisan); c'est son abondance dans les niveaux 'perses' des sites de Palestine (milieu VI^e^-fin du IV^e^ av. J.-C.) qui lui a valu son appellation, difficile à transposer en français. L'évolution typologique est insignifiante au cours des quatre siècles d'existence de ce type, et on ne distingue que deux sous-types, l'un à base plate ou concave, l'autre à haute et massive base annulaire et étalée; les deux catégories se chevauchent chronologiquement, mais la seconde est absente au début de la séquence, et la première à la fin. Bien que probablement fabriqués dans des officines de potiers très éloignées les unes des autres, ces récipients présentent des caractères communs partout où on les trouve: argile grossière, le plus souvent verdâtre, lourdeur des formes, etc. Une autre caractéristique commune, autant qu'on puisse en juger,[30] est la constance des dimensions, qui, transformées en capacités, correspondent à des récipients de 2,3 à 3,3 litres de contenance. Considérant qu'une telle régularité n'était pas accidentelle, compte-tenu de la dispersion chronologique et géographique, j'ai proposé ailleurs (Salles 1985a, 208-209) d'identifier ces bols à une mesure palestinienne, l'*issaron*, équivalent à 1/10^e^ du *bat* ou à 1/3 du *seah*, mesures de base de la métrologie proche-orientale. En considérant les variantes propres à chaque 'sous-métrologie' régionale, on constate que tous les exemplaires de nos vases correspondent à l'une ou l'autre des capacités proposées pour l'*issaron* (*ibid.* 209, n. 8).

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[27] Ce qui est valable pour la Grèce continentale ne l'est pas nécessairement pour la Grèce d'Asie, où d'autres situations pouvaient prévaloir; voir par ex. les remarques de Wallinga sur Samos, 1987 et dans ce volume.

[28] Dans les tablettes d'el-Amarna, messagers du roi et marchands sont les mêmes personnages: «Mon frère, laisse aller mes messagers sans délai et sûrement, afin que je puisse entendre les salutations de mon frère. Ces hommes sont mes marchands ...,» *EA*, 39, 10-20, 208

[29] Les termes français 'cuvette' ou 'bassin' ne sont que des pis-aller, qui rendent mal compte de l'originalité de ces vases; il convient d'éviter résolument le terme 'mortier', puisque aucun exemplaire n'a montré la moindre trace de pilage.

Une interprétation de l'usage de ces récipients pourrait être celle de rations, destinées à compter le dû quotidien d'ouvriers, de mercenaires, etc. Les mercenaires syriens, phéniciens ou chypriotes qui apparaissent dans les flottes des grands rois sont inconnus dans les siècles précédents (mais voir *infra*), alors que ces vases existent dès le VIII^e^ siècle; on pourrait alors penser à des mercenaires grecs, tels ceux qui étaient en garnison à Meṣad Hashavvyahu, au sud de Jaffa, où on a retrouvé plusieurs fragments de 'bols perses' datés du VII^e^ siècle (Salles, *loc. cit.*). Il est vrai qu'au V^e^ s. av. J.-C. des rations quodiennes de deux chénices grecques de gruau, un peu plus de 2 litres, sont bien attestées (Amouretti 1986, 288); mais l'équivalence entre la chénice et l'*issaron* paraît difficile à établir (le rapport 1/2 n'est pas satisfaisant, même pour les valeurs les plus basses du *seah*),[31] et personne n'oserait calquer la carte de répartition des mercenaires grecs au Proche Orient sur celle de la distribution des 'bols perses'! (Fig. 3). Enfin, lorsque des textes mentionnant des rations sont disponibles en Palestine, les proportions sont tout à fait différentes. La garnison de mercenaires (?) kitiens basée à Arad, à la limite du Négev, reçoit 1 *homer* de farine[32] — ostracon no. 1 — pour six jours — ostracon no. 8 (Pardee 1978; Heltzer 1988); les équivalences hypothétiques de l'*homer*[33] — l'*imeru* assyrien — varient de 140 à 220 litres; d'après le nombre de pains distribués (ostracon no. 2, corroboré par la consommation de vin), Heltzer estime la garnison kitienne à 70-80 personnes, ce qui donnerait une ration quotidienne de farine d'environ 0,5 litre par personne: on est loin des 2 à 3 litres de l'*issaron*. Je préfère donc maintenir l'hypothèse d'une mesure commerciale destinée à mesurer de la farine.

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[30] Mes calculs ont été effectués sur plus de deux cents exemplaires complets ou fragmentaires, à partir des données publiées (dessins, dimensions); ils sont donc forcément approximatifs.

[31] Un tarif de Jérusalem du II^e^ s. av. J.-C. (Merker 1975) mentionne, entre le saton (le nom grec du *seah*) et la chénice, une mesure appelée dichénice (*dikoinix*), apparemment un hapax. Pourrait-elle correspondre, dans le contexte palestinien, à l'*issaron* de Jérusalem, estimé à 2,5 litres? Dans l'inscription en question, cette mesure apparaît dans un contexte où il est question de blé...

L'*issaron* est connu dans la bible dès les textes relatifs à l'Exode, sous son équivalent 'gomor' (*'omer*); c'est la mesure qui servit à recueillir la manne divine dans le Sinaï (*Ex.* 16. 16). Par la suite, il apparaît dans plusieurs textes liturgiques (De Vaux 1982, 304) pour mesurer la 'fleur de farine' nécessaire au culte, le *solet* (Borowski 1987, 90).[34] Rien, jusque-là, n'indique un quelconque commerce. Mais on trouve, dès le V^e siècle, un mot nouveau dans la langue grecque, *semidalis* (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, 1968: références à Hippocrate et Lycurgue), d'origine orientale (akkadien?), qui désigne, selon Amouretti (1986, 126-127): «un produit obtenu après deux blutages et [...] de qualité, puisqu'il s'agit d'amande de blé»; farine fine, fleur de farine (hébreu *solet*), gruau de blé paraissent être des transcriptions impropres, et Amouretti préfère adopter le terme «semoule, [qui] rend peut-être mieux la qualité du produit». Faut-il rappeler l'importance de la semoule dans l'alimentation orientale, à la base du *bourghoul*? Athénée, citant Antiphane (IV^e s. av. J.-C.), rappelle que la *semidalis* parvient en Grèce par le canal des Phéniciens (*Deip.* I 28). C'est aux V^e et IV^e siècles que les 'bols perses' sont les plus nombreux en Méditerranée orientale. Dépassant donc les suggestions énoncées en 1985 (Salles *loc. cit.*), je proposerai de voir dans ces 'bols perses' les témoins archéologiques du commerce de la semoule.

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[32] Pardee (1978, 294) s'interroge sur la signification exacte du terme hébreu *qmh* dans l'ostracon no. 1, où il semble associé avec une 'première' opération. On pourrait y voir, de manière très hypothétique, une farine de premier blutage, différente de la farine de deuxième blutage, *solet* (sur les aspects techniques, Amouretti 1986, 123-131), dont il est question plus loin; ceci expliquerait peut-être que les deux produits soient comptés avec des mesures différentes. Mais *qmh* et *solet* sont associés dans d'autres circonstances (Borowski 1987, 90).

[33] Dans les ostraca araméens provenant de Beer-Sheba, la mesure utilisée est le *kor*, environ 240 litres (Naveh 1973; 1979).

[34] Dans les habitations, cette farine fine est conservée dans des jarres (I *Rois* 17. 12-16, entre autres). L'une d'elles aurait été retrouvée à Beth-Shemesh, en Palestine, dans un niveau du début de l'âge du Fer (cité par Borowski 1987, 90, *non vidi*). Le remplissage de ces jarres de réserve ou de transport pouvait nécessiter l'emploi de mesures stables et solides, comme le sont les 'bols perses' (*supra*).

La diffusion de ce type d'objets recouvre toute la Méditerranée orientale, sans atteindre la Grèce continentale (toutes références dans Stern 1982, 96-98 et Salles 1985a, 200); on peut supposer que ces fragments extrêmement banals furent parfois négligés dans les fouilles anciennes, et le 'blanc' de la Phénicie centrale, de Sidon à Lattaquieh, n'est pas nécessairement significatif. Attestés en Cilicie (Mersin, Tarse), les 'bols perses' sont nombreux à Chypre, dans les sites d'habitat (Kition, Amathonte,[35] Idalion) et dans les tombes (Tsambrès, Salamine), où ils devaient servir à compter la nourriture qui accompagnait les morts; on les trouve dans les ports du Nord de la Phénicie (Tell Sukas, al-Mina), mais aussi dans les territoires de la métropole tyrienne (plaine de ʿAkko, Tyr, Rachidiyeh, Sarepta). Ils parsèment également les grands axes commerciaux: Naukratis, Tocra, en Cyrénaïque, Chios, Rhodes. C'est en Palestine qu'ils sont le plus nombreux, soit dans les sites portuaires, soit dans les plaines et collines de l'intérieur,[36] et mon hypothèse est qu'ils y illustrent la vocation exportatrice du pays en matière de produits céréaliers.

Un exemple régional, d'époque achéménide, peut illustrer mon propos. La capitale du Négev, Beer-Sheba, n'a pas livré de niveau archéologique cohérent daté de la période perse, mais de nombreux objets contemporains ont été retrouvés dans les remplissages du site; il n'y a pas de 'bols perses'. La cité était un important centre régional, où convergeaient les produits des environs; on suppose qu'il y avait là un vaste marché à l'âge du Fer (Herr 1988, 49 et 57-61), et des documents épigraphiques paraissent confirmer le rôle collecteur de la ville. Plus de vingt-cinq ostraca en araméen, écrits à l'encre sur des fragments de jarres, ont été recueillis sur le site et datés des V^e et IV^e s. av. J.-C. Douze d'entre ceux qui sont intelligibles font état de livraisons de céréales, blé ou orge, dont la quantité est spécifiée; un nom propre, celui du propriétaire ou du percepteur, est également mentionné, ainsi que la date (Naveh 1973; 1979). Un ostracon semblable a été trouvé à Tell Jemmeh (Gerar), dans la plaine de la Shephelah, le pays des Philistins, qui constitue le débouché naturel du Négev par le Wadi Shallaleh (Naveh 1985). Ces documents, bien sûr, n'évoquent pas le commerce des grains. Il pourrait s'agir de sortes de reçus pour des soldes en nature distribuées aux mercenaires d'une garnison perse installée à Beer-Sheba, dont on n'a pourtant aucune trace; c'est la suggestion du fouilleur (Naveh 1973, note 23), qui se heurte cependant à la taille de ces rations (1 *kor* au minimum, c'est-à-dire 240 litres), et à la disproportion des quantités (de 1 à 10 *kor*). Lors de la présentation de ce papier à Groningen, Briant a évoqué la pression tributaire et l'obligation faite aux populations soumises d'entretenir les troupes et garnisons des Grands Rois (voir aussi Briant 1988c, 170-171); les ostraca seraient alors l'écho de livraisons de céréales au pouvoir perse, bien que, une fois de plus, l'existence d'une garnison à Beer-Sheba reste hypothétique (Tuplin 1987b, 187). Ce qui paraît plus clair, par contre, c'est que la ville constituait le pôle économique des régions alentour et était étroitement associée aux sites de la côte.

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[35] Je dois à l'amabilité de Françoise Alabe (Ecole Française d'Athènes), d'avoir pu voir les très nombreux exemplaires en provenance du site lui-même ou de la fouille du port; ils appartiennent au second type, à haute base annulaire, et sont généralement datés de la fin du IV^e siècle; ils paraissent tous de fabrication locale.

[36] S'il est vrai que l'on trouve 'souvent' les 'bols perses' en association avec de la céramique de Grèce d'Asie, leur présence abondante dans de petits établissements de l'intérieur palestinien empêche de voir dans ces vases une production d'Asie Mineure, originaire des colonies grecques, et répandue vers l'Est par les marchands grecs (*contra* Stern 1989, 114).

La partie septentrionale du Négev est située entre l'isohyète de 300 mm, à une vingtaine de kilomètres au nord de Beer-Sheba, et le désert proprement dit, l'isohyète de 200mm passant juste au sud de la ville (Aharoni 1967). La culture du blé n'y était pas impossible, quoique étroitement liée aux pluies d'hiver, et celle de l'orge y était largement répandue: des restes de *triticum* ont été retrouvés dans les fouilles de Beer-Sheba, où l'*hordeum* semble le plus abondant (Liphschitz & Waisel 1973). Des silos à grains souterrains ont été fouillés à Arad (cité par Borowski 1987, 73-76), des 'bols perses' y ont été recueillis, ainsi que dans les établissements agricoles d'Aroer et de Tel Masos; les produits céréaliers de ces villages étaient sans doute concentrés à Beer-Sheba. Les collines méridionales de Judée, aux confins du Négev, étaient bien exploitées elles aussi: silos à grains souterrains dans les habitations de Tell Halif (Currid & Navon 1989), silos souterrains à Tell Beit Mirsim (Borowski *loc. cit.*), nombreux 'bols perses' dans la région, dont les débouchés étaient soit Beer-Sheba soit la plaine de la Shephelah. Après avoir transité par Beer-Sheba, la production de grains et de farine (et de semoule?) de ces centres agricoles était rassemblée dans les villes de la plaine, en particulier à Tell Jemmeh où, à côté de nombreux 'bols perses' qui sont mentionnés mais non publiés (Stern 1982, 22-28), de vastes greniers à blé[37] existaient à l'époque perse, certains même encore pleins au moment de la fouille, au début du siècle (Stern, *loc. cit.*; Borowski 1987, 77-78). Malgré la pression tributaire évoquée, il ne fait guère de doute que des excédents subsistaient après les différents prélèvements de l'état, du temple ou de l'occupant perse; on en retrouve la trace, silos à grains et 'bols perses', dans les ports de la côte, à Tell el-Shariya, l'antique Anthédon, près d'Ascalon.

Ce schéma théorique, associant des régions productrices de céréales dans les collines, des centres administratifs qui servaient de marchés locaux et de lieux de prélèvements et de taxations, enfin les plaines côtières ouvertes vers l'extérieur, n'est pas propre au Négev et à la Shephelah: de Lachish à Ashdod, de Beth Shemesh et Gezer à Meṣad Hashavvyahu, de Samarie à Tell Qasile, de Megiddo à Tell Abou Hawam, etc. (présentation géographique dans Aharoni 1967), on retrouve les mêmes vestiges archéologiques: installations de stockage, 'bols perses', ostraca mentionnant des céréales à Samarie, etc. Tous ces circuits paraissent bien drainer une partie de la richesse céréalière des royaumes palestiniens vers les ports d'où elle était embarquée vers d'autres destinations.

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[37] L'inventeur, Sir F. Petrie, estimait la capacité de stockage à deux mois complets de nourriture pour 35.000 hommes, ce qui dépasse sans doute les seuls besoins d'une garnison perse, dont on sait qu'elle existait à Tell Jemmeh.

Cette vocation exportatrice de la Palestine n'est pas nouvelle à l'époque perse. A la fin du IIe millénaire, une lettre d'Ougarit en langue accadienne recueillie à Tell Aphek, site au contact des riches collines de Samarie et de la plaine de Sharon, révèle un contrat de fourniture de blé palestinien à la capitale syrienne (Owen 1981).[38] Heltzer (1975, 128) souligne l'importance des livraisons de grains fournies par Salomon à Hiram de Tyr (20.000 *kor* annuels), peut-être quatre fois ce que rapportait la dîme villageoise à la capitale du royaume d'Ougarit quelques siècles plus tôt; pour garantir la pérennité de son approvisionnement, Hiram exige «20 cités dans le pays de Caboul», c'est-à-dire dans les contrées céréalières de Galilée et de la plaine de ʿAkko. Plus tard, au début du VIe siècle, Ezéchiel rappelle ce type d'échanges, dans la prophétie sur Tyr: «Juda et le pays d'Israël trafiquaient avec toi; ils t'apportaient, en échange, du grain de Minnit [dans le pays Ammonite, en Transjordanie], de la cire, du miel, de la graisse et du baume» (*Ez.* 27,17). D'autres textes existent certainement, qui m'ont échappé;[39] conjugués avec les trouvailles archéologiques, spécialement explicites pour l'âge du Fer et la période achéménide, ils contribuent à mettre en lumière le rôle de la Palestine dans le commerce régional des produits céréaliers.

Une dernière remarque s'impose sur ce point. Il est impossible de quantifier ces échanges (textes, vestiges archéologiques!) et de suivre leur évolution au cours des siècles; mais, contrairement à ce qu'on a pu parfois suggérer, la conquête achéménide n'a pas modifié les données du problème, et j'en prendrai pour exemple les bols que je considère comme témoins du commerce de la semoule. L'apparition des 'bols perses', à la fin du VIIIe siècle, coïncide avec l'affermissement de la domination néo-assyrienne sur le Levant: elle pourrait signifier l'introduction d'un nouveau système métrologique calqué sur les systèmes mésopotamiens comme suggéré par certains spécialistes, à tout le moins la fixation et l'unification des systèmes en cours à partir de bases communes; en aucun cas on ne voit apparaître de nouveaux circuits commerciaux, jalonnés par ces trouvailles, puisqu'ils existaient déjà à la fin du IIe millénaire (textes ougaritiques, lettres d'el-Amarna, etc.). Ces objets et les échanges que je souhaite leur associer, se diffusent en Méditerranée orientale jusqu'au VIe siècle, sans interruption, et leur expansion maximale paraît se situer justement pendant la période achéménide, aux Ve et IVe siècles; dans ce cas, la conquête aurait favorisé les échanges économiques. Il faut, en tout cas, fermement récuser une affirmation de Elayi (1988: 74), puisée à d'autres sources: «On a montré récemment que l'asservissement de la Judée au tribut perse aurait provoqué le développement des activités agricoles nécessaires à l'achat d'argent pour payer le tribut; ce développement aurait porté sur les produits les plus demandés à cette époque: le blé, l'huile d'olive et le bétail»; les ouvrages les plus récents (Hopkins 1985; Borowski 1987, et maints autres articles) démontrent sans contestation possible que l'explosion agricole de la Palestine date de l'âge du Fer, grossièrement entre le Xe et le VIIIe siècle av. J.-C, bien avant la venue des Perses. Il resterait à expliquer la 'brutale' disparition des 'bols perses' à la fin du IVe siècle. Rien, dans la période hellénistique, ne semble démontrer une modification des circuits commerciaux;[40] il vaut mieux chercher l'explication dans une généralisation de la métrologie grecque au Proche Orient à la suite des conquêtes d'Alexandre.

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[38] A propos d'un autre texte de Tell Aphek, Knapp rappelle un fonctionnement du commerce régional similaire à celui que j'ai essayé de définir plus haut: «Current interpretation views trade in the Eastern Mediterranean as schematic, simplistic and one-directional. Eastern Mediterranean trade often dealt with metals and surplus goods that functioned as valuables and could move in any direction. Demand for such products was neither constant nor uniform over space and time; products that travelled west in one era may have travelled east in another. In the text under consideration, we may be witnessing a Cypriote merchant making a major 'capital' investment in the lucrative Eastern Mediterranean trade» (1983, 43).

[39] Je n'ai pas été en mesure de lire l'ouvrage de Elat, *Economic Relations in the Lands of the Bible (ca 1000 - 539 B.C.)*, Jérusalem 1977, en hébreu, encore non traduit à ma connaissance; le compte-rendu de Heltzer (*BASOR* 1978, no. 230, 72-73) ne signale aucun développement sur le commerce des grains. Je n'ai pas consulté non plus la récente thèse de Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre Israël et les cités de la côte phénicienne du début du 1er millénaire jusqu'à 597 av. J.-C.*, Paris 1988, citée par Briant, dans ce volume.

Au-delà de mes interprétations sur les 'bols perses', il faudrait évoquer d'autres circuits commerciaux régionaux ou plus lointains: livraisons de blé égyptien à Chypre à la fin du IIe millénaire (*EA* 36, 14-16, douteux), réitérées à l'époque classique (D.S. XV 3,3, cité par Gjerstad, *SCE* IV, 2: 501, note 9); rôle d'Ougarit chargée de livrer dans ses ports 2000 *kor* de grains achetés par le roi hittite en Syrie du Nord (Heltzer 1977, 209); 'détournement' d'un convoi de blé, d'origine inconnue, de Chypre vers Athènes par Andocide, en 411 av. J.-C.[41]; envois de blés chypriotes (Kition, Amathonte) vers Athènes aussi, aux Ve-IVe s. (Gjerstad *loc. cit.*, 500), etc. L'ensemble de ces documents, écrits ou archéologiques, n'offre qu'une première approche, très incomplète, du commerce des grains à l'intérieur de la Méditerranée orientale — un sujet encore vierge quand on le compare à celui de l'approvisionnement des cités grecques archaïques, classiques et hellénistiques; ces rares témoins démontrent seulement la complexité du problème, qui dépasse largement le cadre des seuls échanges entre le monde grec et le Proche Orient.

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[40] En ce sens, la continuité entre les niveaux dits perses et les niveaux hellénistiques qu'on constate dans de très nombreux sites palestiniens est tout à fait significative.

[41] Gernet (1909, 306-307) et Gjerstad (*SCE* IV, 2, 491, note 3) considèrent que l'origine du blé n'était pas Chypriote, et que le convoi était seulement en transit (ou en dépôt?) à Chypre.

Les amphores à anses en panier et le commerce de l'huile d'olive

Les amphores à anses en panier, ou 'anses en bretelle', ou *basket-handles*, font leur apparition à Chypre à la fin du VIII^e s. av. J.-C. et se répandent sur les côtes orientales de la Méditerranée dans la seconde moitié du VII^e.[42] Ce type de conteneur original a fait l'objet de plusieurs mises au point: Zemer (1977, 29-31), Stern (1982, 110-112), Salles (dans *Keisan*, 136-141), et, dernièrement, Buhl (1983, 15-23). On s'accorde à attribuer une origine chypriote à la variété la plus ancienne de ce type d'amphore,[43] issue des traditions céramiques locales, et il semble désormais exclu de proposer une inspiration rhodienne ou d'Asie mineure, comme l'avait initialement suggéré Stern. La forme biconique présente une carène haute (Salamine, Tell Keisan), qui semble évoluer vers une carène médiane ou basse au cours des VII^e et VI^e siècles (Classes VIII 2 A et VIII 2 B définées par Buhl) — mais ceci peut n'être qu'un problème de fabrication, plus qu'un réel changement typologique, l'amphore étant faite de deux moitiés réunies entre elles. Cette production chypriote a été retrouvée en Egypte (Memphis, Tell Defneh, Naukratis), en Phénicie du Nord[44] (Tell Sukas, Tell Khazel*), en Phénicie centrale (Byblos*, Atlit au sud de Tyr), en Galilée (Akko, Tell Keisan, Shiqmona, etc.), sur les côtes de Palestine (Meṣad Hashavvyahu, etc.) mais rarement à l'intérieur (Megiddo), à Rhodes.[45] Dans le courant du V^e siècle, la forme s'allonge progressivement, et le col diminue jusqu'à disparaître au IV^e, le profil général devenant alors fusiforme (Fig. 4); un nouveau type de pâte apparaît, que Buhl interprète comme une imitation phénicienne de l'ancien modèle chypriote: «... [these amphoras] must have been made on the mainland as imitations of Cypriote prototypes. They arrived on Cyprus during the supremacy of the Persians in the Eastern Mediterranean ...» (1983, 23). Ce sont les Classes VIII 2 D et VIII 2 E de l'auteur, dont deux exemplaires trouvés à Salamine seraient des importations en provenance de Sukas; Buhl remarque que ces deux types n'existent qu'en Phénicie du Nord, de Tell Arqa à al-Mina. Il est généralement difficile de déterminer la provenance d'une céramique à la seule vue de l'argile,[46] et la description de la pâte rouge continentale définie par Buhl (rouge assez grossière, à dégraissant blanchâtre ou noir abondant, souvent à cœur rouge) pourrait être rapprochée, peut-être arbitrairement(?) de celle qui caractérise un type d'amphore chypriote courant aux Ve et IVe s.: «texture grossière, inclusions blanches ou noires, couleur variable en fonction de la cuisson mais le plus souvent rouge» (Calvet 1986, 505); l'une d'elles a même livré un timbre kitien, qui spécifie ainsi le centre de production. Il convient donc de rester prudent: il est à peu près assuré que le type ancien des amphores à anses en panier est une fabrication spécifiquement chypriote (Salamine, Kition), exportée vers le continent aux VII^e et VI^e s.; il est probable que des imitations ont été produites en Phénicie du Nord au V^e s.; la production chypriote d'un type tardif a perduré pendant tout le V^e et le IV^e s. (voir note 46).[47]

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[42] Le repère chronologique le plus sûr est le niveau 4 de Tell Keisan, que je persiste à dater de la seconde moitié du VII^e s. av. J.-C. (Salles 1985b); il semble pourtant que «la quasi-totalité de [mon] argumentation est inadéquate» (Humbert 1988, 79, note 27). En l'absence d'une démonstration sérieuse, je m'interroge sur la méthodologie qui a conduit à réviser la date du niveau 4: «... la vérité gît dans le texte; puisqu'il faut 'respecter' le Texte et ce qu'il contient d'histoire, il ne reste à l'archéologue qu'à faire plier l'archéologie pour présenter sa copie conforme» (*ibid.*, 69). Le contexte ne rend pas compte que ce jugement puisse être critique.

[43] Ce que confirment les analyses pétrographiques, v. Courtois, *apud Keisan*, 358-360.

[44] Une amphore de ce type provient de Ras el-Bassit, où elle est bien datée par le contexte de la fin du VI^e/début du V^e s. av. J.-C.; elle porte une inscription phénicienne (Bordreuil 1982). Sa forme n'est pas décrite (et peut-être pas descriptible), ce qui donnerait une bonne indication dans l'évolution typologique, mais la description de l'argile (beige/rosé) la rattache sans doute aux séries chypriotes.

[45] Toutes références dans les études citées plus haut. L'astérisque désigne des sites où il n'est pas toujours possible de déterminer s'il s'agit du type ancien ou du type récent.

Dans leur version ancienne, ces amphores pouvaient contenir jusqu'à 80 litres de liquide, et pesaient une centaine de kilos lorsqu'elles étaient pleines: ce sont les plus volumineuses amphores de transport que l'on connaisse au Proche Orient. Les anses verticales dressées au-dessus de l'ouverture permettaient le passage d'un bâton transversal nécessaire pour le transport à dos d'homme,[48] mais ces lourds conteneurs devaient souvent casser, si l'on en juge par l'abondance des fragments d'anses recueillis dans les fouilles. Un exemplaire chypriote, de provenance inconnue et daté du VI^e s. av. J.-C., porte une inscription phénicienne gravée spécifiant le nom du propriétaire (Masson & Sznycer 1972, 132 et pl. XIX, 2). Plusieurs autres inscriptions, trouvées à Chypre même ou en Palestine, désignent explicitement le contenu de l'amphore, de l'huile d'olive: inscription en syllabaire chypriote sur une amphore de la tombe 3 de Salamine (Masson *apud* Karageorghis 1967, 132), inscriptions en phénicien sur plusieurs amphores de Tell Keisan (Puech 1980, 302-303), et, plus douteuse, sur un fragment de Qadesh Barnea (Dothan 1965, fig. 7, 13), tous documents datés des VII^e et VI^e s. av. J.-C. Que ce type de récipient ait sans doute été réservé à l'huile d'olive paraît confirmé par la découverte de fragments d'amphores à anses en panier — dont le sous-type n'est pas spécifié — dans une huilerie d'époque classique (V^e^-IV^e^ s.) récemment fouillée près de Nicosie (Hajisavvas 1988, 113).

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[46] Buhl regrette de n'avoir pas pu faire pratiquer des analyses pétrographiques ou physicochimiques sur ces amphores. Assez familier avec ce type à Kition et à Tell Keisan, je n'ai pas eu l'occasion d'examiner les exemplaires de Phénicie du Nord (Sukas, Arqa). Dans les fouilles de Kition-Bamboula en cours, on trouve des fragments d'anses de telles amphores en abondance; plusieurs types de pâtes paraissent locaux, d'autres pourraient être amathousiens, d'autres enfin sont peut-être importés.

[47] On constate le synchronisme chronologique de ces amphores à anses en panier avec les 'bols perses' étudiés plus haut, et la similitude de leur aire de diffusion. Ces conteneurs étaient sans doute transportés sur les mêmes navires, sans qu'on puisse établir plus de relations entre eux.

[48] Illustrations dans Gjerstad 1946, 9, fig. 5a (bol en argent), et Calvet 1986, 506 (figurine en terre cuite).

On se trouverait donc, avec ces objets, en présence de témoins des courants d'exportation de l'huile chypriote aux VII^e^ et VI^e^ s. av. J.-C.; il s'agissait, rappelons-le, d'un produit de semi-luxe, de coût relativement élevé.[49] L'aire de distribution des amphores à anses en panier suscite quelques réflexions. Elles sont nombreuses en Egypte, dont on sait que l'agriculture était dépourvue d'oliviers; il est déjà question d'huile douce chypriote, que le roi est invité à se verser en parfum sur la tête, dans les tablettes d'el-Amarna (*EA*, 34, 50-53). Mais les oléiculteurs ou négociants chypriotes qui cherchaient à écouler leur produit sur le marché égyptien[50] devaient y affronter la sévère concurrence des marchands palestiniens (*infra*) et même grecs: outre les textes plus tardifs qui mentionnent ces livraisons, il faut rappeler que l'amphore attique de type 'SOS', bien attestée en Egypte, a parfois été interprétée comme un conteneur pour l'huile d'olive (Johnston & Jones 1978, 140; la bibliographie de l'article donne la diffusion des amphores 'SOS' en Egypte). Si c'est bien le cas, les Chypriotes avaient à combattre cette concurrence sur leur île elle-même, où de nombreuses amphores de type 'SOS' ont été retrouvées (Gjerstad 1977; le type paraît plus rare au Levant).

Un autre domaine important de la diffusion des amphores à anses en panier est la Phénicie du Nord, autour de Tell Sukas, dès le VII^e^ s. av. J.-C. On sait la région de Ras Shamra riche en huileries au Bronze récent, et toute la Syrie du Nord aux époques romaine et byzantine (travaux de Callot, *supra*); y aurait-il eu déclin passager de l'oléiculture en Phénicie du Nord au 1^er^ millénaire av. J.-C.? et pourquoi? D'après les témoignages archéologiques, les cités du Nord, comme tant d'autres, achetaient des huiles spéciales en provenance de Grèce ou de l'Egée (aryballes, lécythes, etc.), mais la question de l'huile commune reste posée dans ce pays traditionnellement producteur. D'un autre côté, peut-on considérer que les amphores à anses en panier 'continentales' trouvées à Salamine illustreraient des échanges d'huile d'olive dans le sens Syrie-Chypre? Des courants commerciaux continuent à exister à l'époque perse, attestés par les fragments d'amphores recueillis à Tell Khazel, Banyas (cités par Buhl 1983), Tell Arqa, Byblos, Khaldé (cité par Buhl 1983): huile d'olive chypriote transportée dans des récipients 'continentaux' ou produit de Syrie du Nord, l'archéologie ne permet pas de répondre. Paradoxalement, alors qu'on connaît par les textes les besoins de Tyr en huile d'olive — livraisons de 20.000 mesures annuelles par Salomon à Hiram, renouvellement des livraisons mentionné (sans spécification de quantités) par

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[49] Voir le cas, un peu spécial il est vrai, des amphores panathénaïques en Grèce.

[50] Ceux qui ont laissé leur signature sur les murs de Gizeh, des temples d'Abydos, de Thèbes ou de Karnak? (Masson 1961, 353-388). La plupart des graffites semblent plutôt dater des V^e^ et IV^e^ s. av. J.-C.

Ezéchiel et par Esdras, en pleine période de domination achéménide (cité par Zemer 1977, 111) — on ne trouve aucune trace de récipient chypriote (*i.e.* d'amphores à anses en panier, d'autres vases chypriotes ayant été recueillis) dans les ruines du site: peut-on envisager un accord exclusif entre Jérusalem et la métropole phénicienne, Tyr 'interdisant' l'importation d'autres huiles d'olive que celles de Judée?

Les relations les plus étroites paraissent s'établir entre Chypre et la plaine de St Jean d'Acre: Shiqmona, Tell Abou Hawam, ʿAkko, Tell Keisan ... De nos jours, les terres basses ne sont guère vouées à l'olivier qui abonde par contre, comme dans l'antiquité, dans les collines de Galilée au Nord et à l'Est (huileries antiques à Hazor, Tell Dan, Shiqmona). D'après Frankel (1987, 72), qui a étudié dans sa thèse (en hébreu) l'histoire de l'oléiculture en Israël, les technologies utilisées dans cette région à l'âge du Fer différaient de celles en usage en Judée et dans le reste de la Palestine, et l'auteur les qualifie de 'phéniciennes'. Un secteur important de la Galilée, en effet, au Nord et au Sud-Ouest, appartenait au domaine phénicien, qui s'étendait, à l'époque perse, de Tyr vers le Sud à Achziv, ʿAkko, Haifa (Lemaire 1989, 93; voir aussi *infra*, note 52); Dothan (1985, 93) suggère qu'une partie de l'huile et du vin qui parvenaient à Memphis et à Elephantine dans des jarres inscrites en phénicien provenait du royaume de ʿAkko. On ne saurait donc s'étonner d'une relation spéciale, chypro-phénicienne, entre la côte méridionale de Chypre et les sites de Phénicie du Sud, d'autant plus que quelques éléments peuvent inciter à établir un rapport privilégié entre Kition et ʿAkko (*supra*, note 15). Il resterait à déterminer si les produits oléicoles de Chypre et de Galilée étaient concurrents sur les marchés extérieurs (Egypte, Phénicie du Nord) ou même sur leurs propres lieux de production,[51] ou bien si agriculteurs et négociants de ces deux régions n'avaient pas cherché à former une sorte d''entente' contre la compétition palestinienne;[52] il s'agit, là encore, d'une pure hypothèse.

Les collines de Samarie et de Judée ont été un centre d'oléiculture très important dès la plus haute antiquité (nombreuses trouvailles d'époque chalcolithique ou du Bronze ancien, Borowski 1987, 117); mais c'est dans les premiers siècles du 1^er^ millénaire, et particulièrement au début de l'âge du Fer II (IX^e^-VIII^e^ s. av. J.-C.) qu'on assiste à une véritable explosion de l'industrie de l'huile, à en juger par la multiplication des installations de pressage à cette époque. La conférence qui s'est tenue à Haifa en 1987 fait un point détaillé sur la question, spécialement grâce aux contributions de Eitam, Eitam &

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[51] Les amphores à anses en panier chypriotes trouvées à Tell Keisan avaient-elles transporté de l'huile chypriote, ou étaient-elles des conteneurs d'origine chypriote destinés à recevoir de l'huile de Galilée? — un peu comme le furent les amphores rhodiennes à l'époque hellénistique.

[52] La plupart des sites de trouvaille des fragments d'amphores à anses en panier, à l'exception notable de Megiddo et de Qadesh Barnea (*infra*), sont des installations côtières de la Palestine, sous contrôle phénicien (régions de Dor, Jaffa, Ascalon) ou sièges de garnisons étrangères (Meṣad Hashavvyahu); apparemment, ces récipients ne pénètrent pas en Palestine.

Shomroni, Gitin, Frankel etc.: extension de l'espace cultivé, développement des techniques,[53] accroissement de la production, etc. A Tell Miqne (Ekron), à la frontière entre la plaine côtière du pays philistin et la Shephelah judéenne, plus de 160 installations liées à l'exploitation de l'olivier ont été reconnues; d'après les fouilleurs, la production de Tell Miqne au VII^e s. av. J.-C. aurait été d'au moins 1.000 tonnes d'huile d'olive par an, provenant d'olivettes dispersées dans un rayon de 10 à 20 kilomètres autour de la cité; plus de 2.000 ouvriers auraient été employés par cette industrie. Les magasins du site pouvaient conserver environ 1 million de litres d'huile d'olive, répartis dans 48.000 jarres ... (Eitam & Shomroni, *loc. cit.*, 48-49). En dépit de l'importance de ces chiffres, les auteurs rappellent que Tell Miqne n'est pas situé dans une région naturellement riche en oliviers; sans vouloir généraliser des données aussi élevées à tous les autres centres de production connus en Judée ou en Samarie, on mesure la place prépondérante de l'huile d'olive dans l'économie de la Palestine.

Economie où l'état (=la royauté d'Israël) joue un rôle très important: le roi David était entouré d'un «intendant des oliviers et des sycomores du Bas-Pays» et d'un autre «intendant des réserves d'huile» (I *Chron.* 27. 27). Les inscriptions et sceaux sur jarres, les ostraca et divers documents inscrits recueillis à Samarie ou à Lachish, constituent autant de témoignages de cette économie royale, depuis l'époque de la monarchie unifiée — on admet généralement que les grandes amphores estampillées *lmlk* de Lachish étaient stockées dans les magasins royaux, autant pour l'huile que pour le vin (entre autres Ussishkin 1977, 1978; voir, récemment, l'article peu convaincant de Rosen 1987, sur les ostraca de Samarie) — jusqu'à la période perse (Lemaire 1989, 93-98; Lipiński 1989, sur les 'Cellériers'). Rien n'indique pourtant que la production d'huile d'olive ait pu être un monopole d'état, et il faut envisager à côté une importante économie privée, même si une partie de ses revenus parvenait au temple ou aux magasins royaux. Dans de telles conditions de 'surproduction', l'huile d'olive constituait certainement l'une des principales richesses à l'exportation de la Palestine.

Des expéditions d'huile d'olive palestinienne vers l'Egypte sont attestées depuis le II^e millénaire av. J.-C. au moins, dans les récits de Sinouhé, et, surtout, dans les lettres d'el-Amarna et les listes de tributs de Touthmosis III; au temps de la XVIII^e dynastie, les envois d'huile d'olive se seraient montés à 30.000 litres par an (Ahituv 1978, 98-99). Ces prélèvements sont-ils restés comme le symbole de la dépendance d'Israël? Evoquant la perversion du royaume au VIII^e s. av. J.-C., le prophète Osée s'exclame: «... on fait alliance avec l'Assyrie, on porte de l'huile à l'Egypte» (*Os.* 12. 2). A l'époque perse, les ostraca et papyri d'Egypte se réfèrent souvent à l'huile,[54] et il n'y a aucune raison de considérer que les importations palestiniennes avaient cessé, même si, comme on l'a vu plus haut, la concurrence phénicienne ('Akko?), chypriote ou égéenne pouvait être vive. On a évoqué plus haut les livraisons d'huile d'olive judéenne à Tyr, au temps de Solomon;[55] la prophétie d'Ezéchiel sur Tyr ne cite pas le produit, dans aucune des relations commerciales qu'inventorie le prophète: peut-être sa présence est-elle implicite dans les 'marchandises' que fournit la métropole phénicienne en paiement des produits coûteux qu'elle reçoit? Zemer mentionne des exportations d'huile d'olive vers la Phénicie au temps d'Esdras, sous la domination perse (1977, 111). Rien n'atteste que l'huile d'olive palestinienne ait été exportée vers le monde égéen, sans doute dominé par les produits grecs.

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[53] L'introduction du pressoir à levier daterait de cette période, et non de l'époque hellénistique comme on le pensait généralement.

Un point mérite d'être souligné à propos de ces échanges d'huile d'olive en Méditerranée orientale, brièvement évoqué plus haut. Sous réserve d'un inventaire plus approfondi de tous les documents écrits et des trouvailles archéologiques explicites et bien datées, il semblerait, *a priori*, que producteurs et négociants chypriotes et palestiniens se soient ignorés mutuellement: un examen superficiel ne permet pas de déceler de traces d'un commerce de l'huile entre ces deux régions productrices. Comme on l'a vu, les amphores à anses en panier, interprétées comme des vases-conteneurs de l'huile d'olive, n'ont été retrouvées que sur la côte de Palestine, c'est-à-dire dans le domaine phénicien, très exceptionnellement à l'intérieur (Megiddo); l'huile d'olive chypriote ne paraît pas avoir atteint les collines de Judée et de Samarie. D'un autre côté, on ne connaît pas avec certitude les amphores qui servaient au commerce de l'huile en Palestine. Ce ne sont pas les grandes amphores à quatre anses de Lachish, les jarres royales estampillées, qui ne semblent avoir été utilisées que dans les magasins administratifs et dont la diffusion est exclusivement limitée à la Judée méridionale (Mommsen *et al.* 1984). Le type d'amphore trouvé dans les fouilles de Tell Miqne par dizaines d'exemplaires (Gitin 1987, fig. 8 et 12: 5-6), qu'on peut supposer être lié aux échanges de l'huile d'olive étant donné l'importance du site, n'est pas présent à Chypre à la même époque (VII^{e} s. av. J.-C.);[56] apparemment, l'huile d'olive palestinienne n'atteindrait pas le marché chypriote. Il faudrait étudier le problème avec plus de rigueur, mais cette apparente situation de non-concurrence mérite l'attention; tout semble se passer comme si le marché de l'huile d'olive en Méditerranée orientale était plus ou moins 'réglementé', avec tout ce que cela implique comme 'mesures protectionnistes' (cf. l'absence apparente d'huile grecque en Phénicie et en Palestine), 'ententes' (cf. Tyr et Jérusalem), et autres pratiques commerciales ... Il ne s'agit là que d'une hypothèse.

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[54] Il s'agit souvent de la *kiki* d'Hérodote (II 94), huile de riçin locale «aussi propre à l'éclairage que l'huile d'olive, mais d'une odeur insupportable». L'huile d'olive est aussi mentionnée.

[55] 440.000 litres, estimations citées par Borowski 1987, 120, n.22.

[56] Ce sont les types 6 et 7 définis par Zemer 1977, p. 11-13; leur diffusion est limitée à la Palestine du Sud (l'inventaire de Zemer remonte aux années soixante-dix), Ashdod, Beer-Sheba, Lachish, toutes régions où nous avons constaté la production ou le commerce de l'huile d'olive. Ces types sont absents à Chypre à la même période: Calvet 1984, 208-209, et fig. 5; Bikai 1987, spécial. pl. XXII

On objectera la présence de fragments d'amphores à anses en panier à Qadesh Barnea et à Arad, dans le Négev; c'est sans doute cette huile qui est mentionnée dans les lettres d'Arad (Pardee 1978, no. 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, etc.; Heltzer 1988, ostracon no. 4, 7, 10, 14, 17). La mesure des quantités d'huile livrées n'est jamais mentionnée, et, à la suite de l'éditeur, Pardee et Heltzer restituent le *bat*, soit environ 25 litres, contenance qu'on mesure dans de nombreuses jarres, de Beer-Sheba à Samarie (réf. dans Pardee, *loc. cit.*, 302, n. 57; voir aussi Ussishkin 1978, 87, n. 9, qui préfère un *bat* de 21 litres): on serait loin de la contenance des amphores à anses en panier, peut-être équivalente à 10 *hin*. Il faut cependant remarquer que plusieurs de ces livraisons sont faites à des *Kittim*, c'est-à-dire des mercenaires phéniciens de Kition en garnison à Arad, et, selon la suggestion de Heltzer (*loc. cit*, 170) suivant en cela l'éditeur Aharoni, à Qadesh Barnea également, voire «in a number of fortresses of South Judea» (*ibid.*). Peut-on suggérer, alors, que les mercenaires kitiens du Négev auraient préféré l'huile d'olive 'nationale' chypriote, transportée dans des vases-conteneurs chypriotes, aux produits voisins des collines de Judée? La notion de qualité des produits, ou du moins de la spécificité de leur goût, et, donc, les implications commerciales des préférences des consommateurs paraissent plus explicites dans le cas des échanges portant sur le vin.

(à suivre)

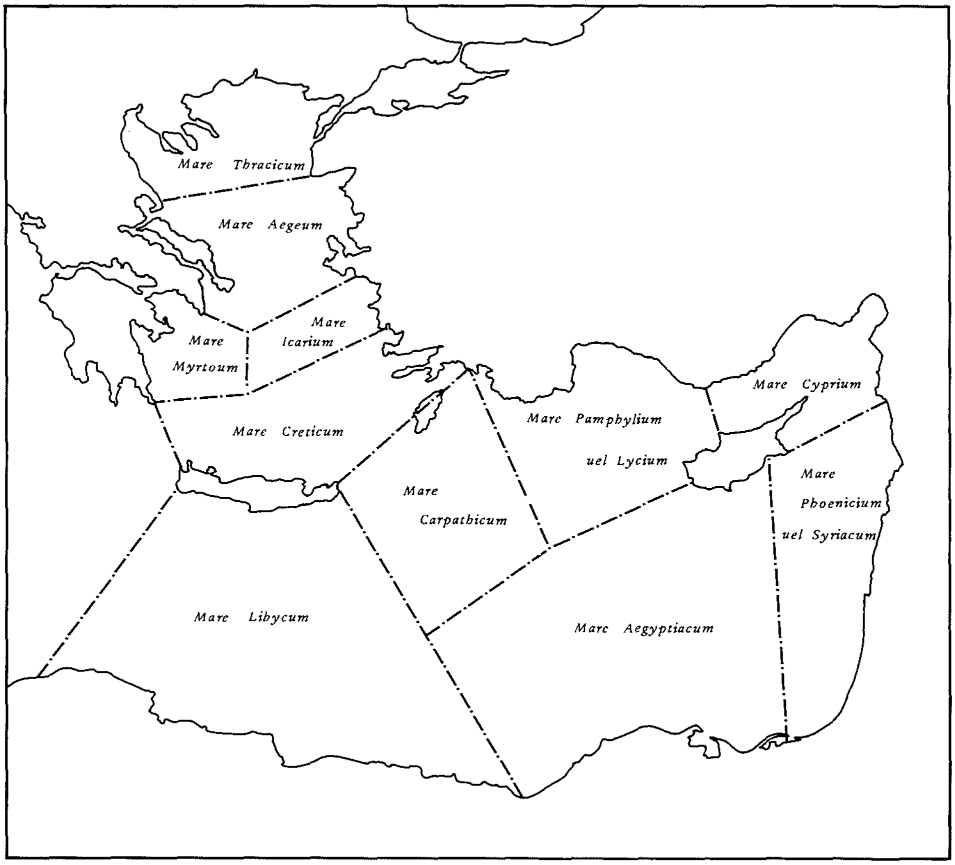
Mare Thracicum
Mare Aegeum
Mare Icarium
Mare Myrtoum
Mare Creticum
Mare Pamphylium uel Lycium
Mare Cyprium
Mare Phoenicium uel Syriacum
Mare Carpathicum
Mare Libycum
Mare Aegyptiacum

Figure 1: Les zones maritimes de la Méditerranée orientale, d'après Rougé 1966, p. 43.

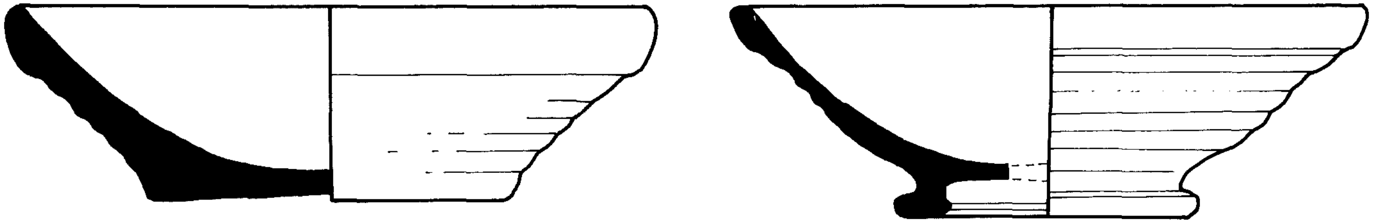

Figure 2: ‘Bols perses’, d’après *Keisan*, no. 5, pl. 11, et Salles (J.-F.), *Kition-Bamboula* II. Les égouts de la ville classique, ADPF, Paris, 1983, no. 236, fig. 28.

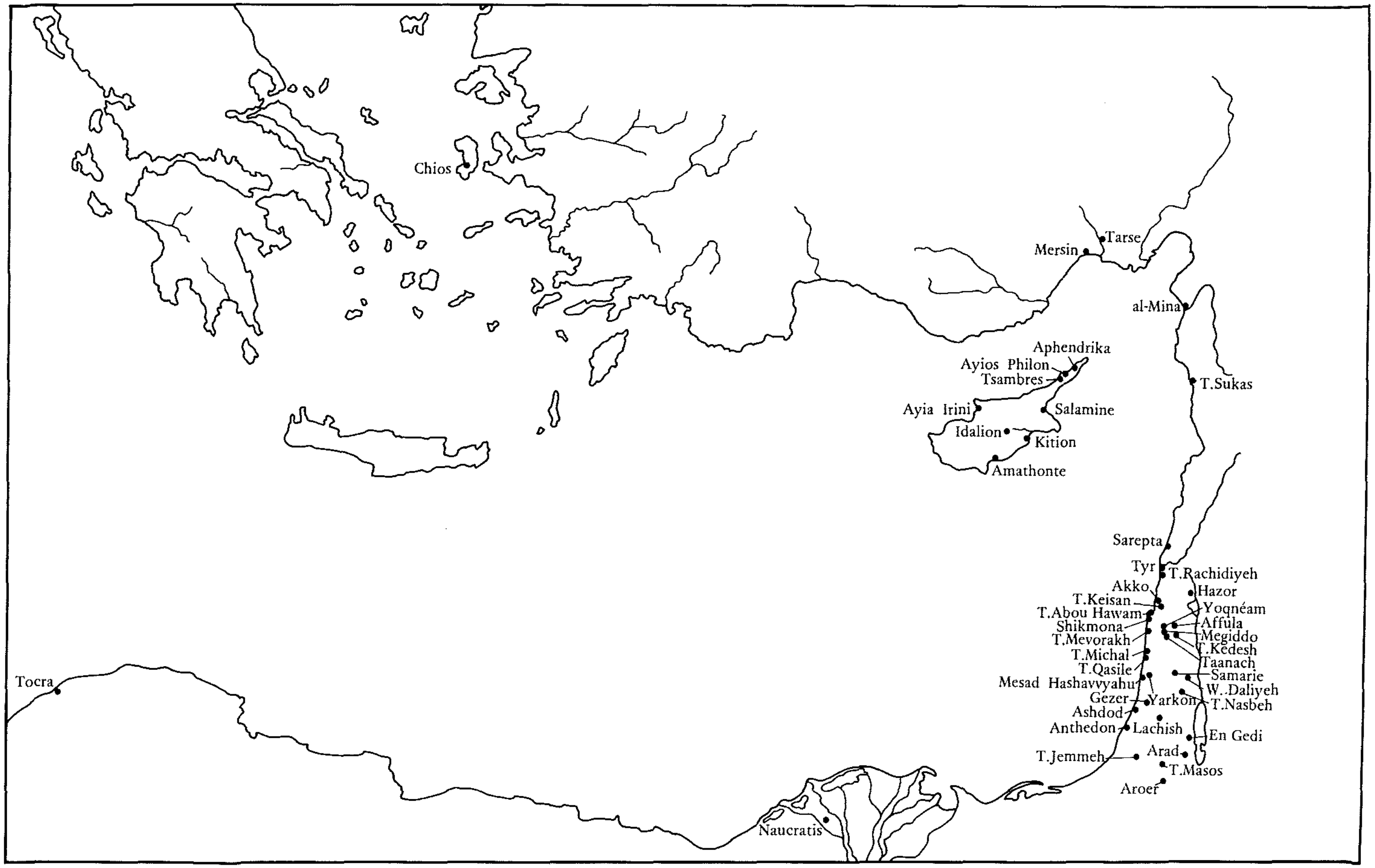
Chios
Mersin
Tarse
al-Mina
T.Sukas
Aphendrika
Ayios Philon
Tsambres
Ayia Irini
Salamine
Idalion
Kition
Amathonte
Sarepta
Tyr
T.Rachidiyeh
Akko
Hazor
T.Keisan
Yoqnéam
T.Abou Hawam
Affula
Shikmona
Megiddo
T.Mevorakh
T.Kedesh
T.Michal
Taanach
T.Qasile
Samarie
Mesad Hashavvyahu
W. Daliyeh
Gezer
Yarkon
T.Nasbeh
Ashdod
Anthedon
Lachish
En Gedi
T.Jemmeh
Arad
T.Masos
Aroer
Tocra
Naucratis

Figure 3: Carte schématique de la répartition des 'bols perses' en Méditerranée orientale.

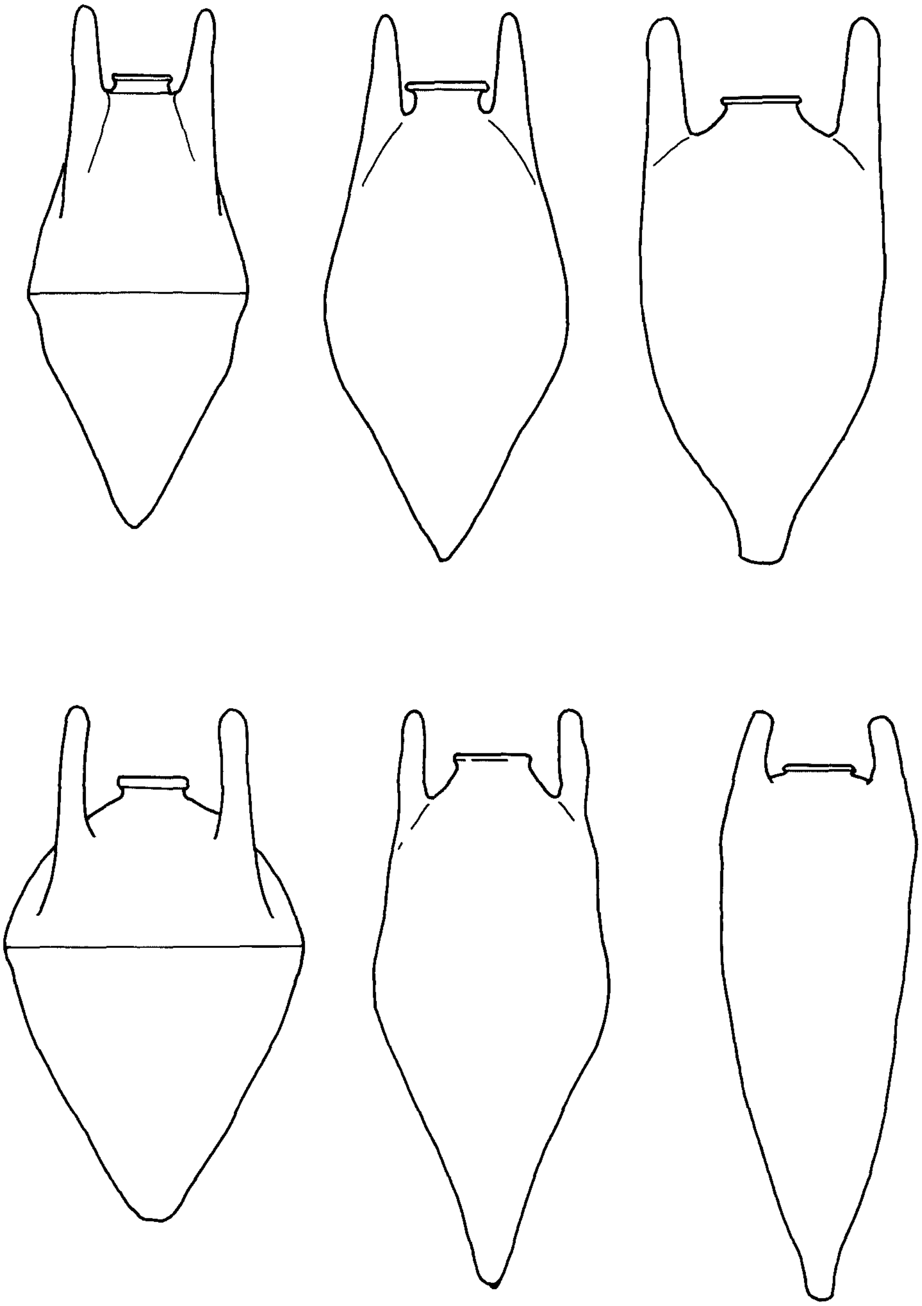

Figure 4: Evolution simplifiée des amphores à anses en panier, d'après Buhl 1983 (Tell Sukas), p. 18-22, et *Keisan*, fig. 40b p. 138.

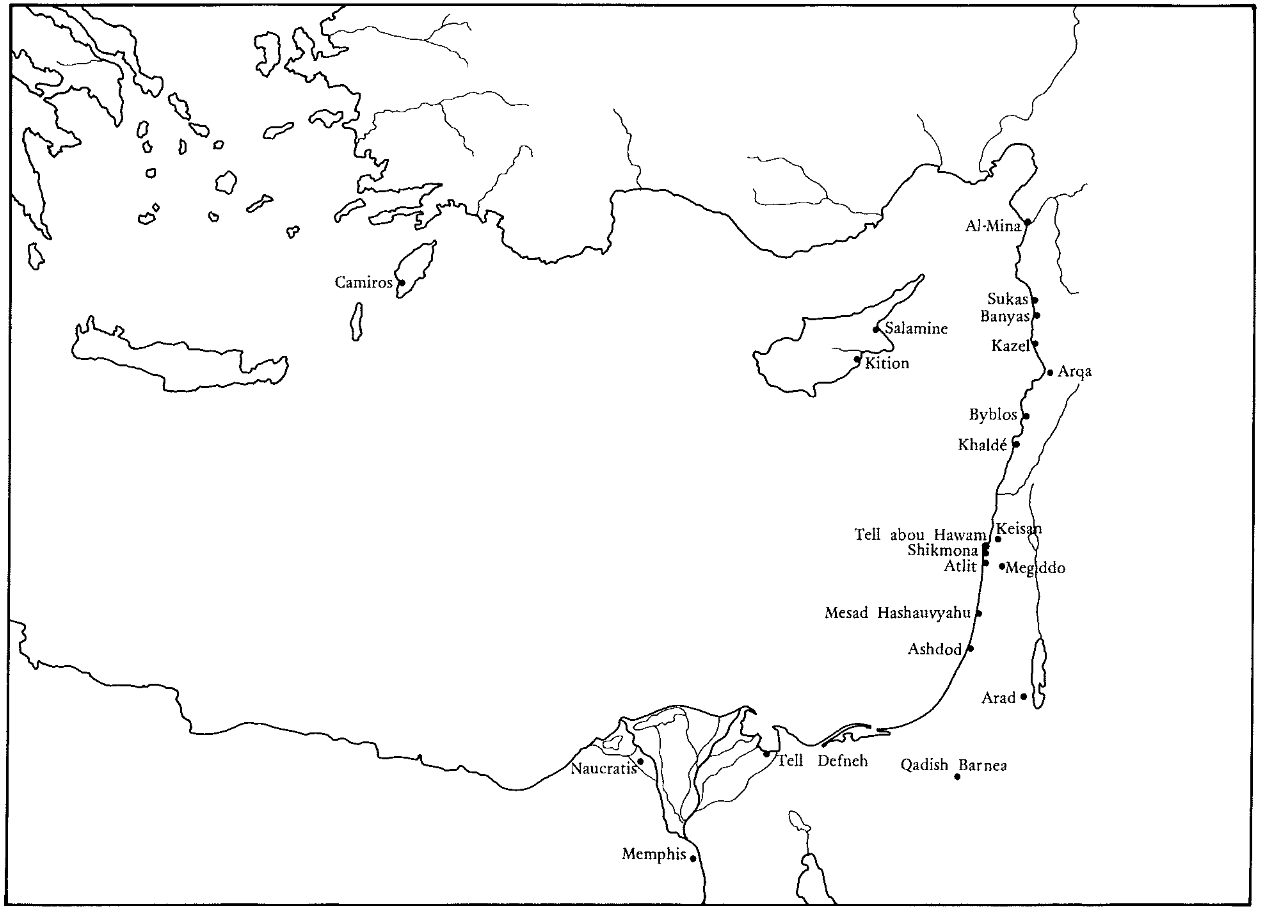
Camiros
Salamine
Kition
Al-Mina
Sukas
Banyas
Kazel
Arqa
Byblos
Khaldé
Tell abou Hawam
Keisan
Shikmona
Atlit
Megiddo
Mesad Hashauvyahu
Ashdod
Arad
Naucratis
Tell Defneh
Qadish Barnea
Memphis

Figure 5: Carte schématique de la répartition des amphores à anses en panier en Méditerranée orientale.

DARIUS' SUEZ CANAL AND PERSIAN IMPERIALISM

Chr. Tuplin — Liverpool

Darius' Suez canal is frequently mentioned in the modern literature but not often accorded any extensive discussion. The most recent influential exception is Hinz 1975b, which succeeded in establishing a completion date in the early 490s as the current orthodoxy, though had less to say about the motives for the enterprise.[1] Both before and since Hinz's article the latter question has most often been tackled in terms of trade,[2] though others have spoken more noncommittally about improvement of communications systems, drawing an analogy with the Royal Road,[3] or about strategic motives.[4] In the paper which follows I shall first examine the sources directly concerned with the canal to see how they relate to one another and how much they actually allow us to assert with any certainty (it will transpire that historians may have been over-optimistic about this). I shall then look at the contexts within which the canal might be seen in order the pursue the question of the motives for its construction.

SOURCES ON THE CANAL

The Greco-Roman Sources

The sources are Herodotus II 158; IV 40; 42; Aristotle *Met.* 852b; Strabo C38, C780, C804; Agatharchides 86 F19 = Diodorus I 33, 8-12; Pliny *NH* VI 165. The major division is between Herodotus and all the others. The most striking feature is that Herodotus says that Darius completed the canal, while the other sources deny it. But there are other differences, as we shall see (to the extent that Herodotus and his successors are scarcely in contact at all, *pace* Lloyd 1977), just as there are divergences among the later sources.

I am indebted for assistance and comments to Amélie Kuhrt and to my Liverpool colleagues Ken Kitchen, Alan Millard and Peter Shore

[1] Edakov 1980, by contrast, has had little impact.

[2] Bresciani 1968, 339; 1984, 361; Briant 1981, 22; Burn 1962, 117; Cawkwell 1972, 33; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1980, 217; Edakov 1980, 118; Gallotta 1980:153, 181; Gyles 1959, 93; Kraeling 1953, 10; Schmitt 1983, 422.

[3] Law 1978, 100; Lloyd 1988b, 152; Ray 1988, 264; Schaeder 1960, 64.

[4] Cook 1983, 65; 1985, 22. Dandamaev 1985, 105f is almost entirely non-committal, making only the point that, whereas the modern Suez canal was intended to improve the links between Europe and India, the Persian one was aiming chiefly to improve those between the Nile valley and the Red Sea.

1. *The Completion of Darius' Canal.* Since the canal stelae prove Herodotus correct here, and since Herodotus writes as though the canal was still operational in his day (though oddly fails to mention it in in II 11, where it surely had some pertinence to what would happen if the Nile started to flow into the Red Sea), the later view, already espoused by Aristotle, shows that within a century of Herodotus Darius' waterway had silted up. A more precise date cannot be proved. Even if Damastes 5 F8 proved the canal's use for a trip from the Mediterranean to Susa in the fifth century (so Mazzarino 1959, Oertel 1964), the date would only be slightly later than Herodotus' report; and the interpretation is disputable (cf. Breebaart 1967). But it is natural to guess that the canal's abandonment was due to the liberation of Egypt at the end of the fifth century. It is worth noting the implication that the independent rulers of fourth century Egypt perceived no advantage in its maintenance. It is also interesting in this context that the town at Tell Maskhutah on the canal-line may have been damaged during the revolt of 487-485 (Holladay 1982, 25). But in view of Herodotus' evidence it does not follow that the canal was abandoned in the aftermath of those troubles. Clédat (1920, 103f.; 1923, 85, 93; 1924, 67f.) had a quite different approach, claiming that, while both Necho and Darius succeeded in cutting a Nile-Red Sea canal via the Wadi Tumilat, they failed in a parallel attempt to cut one from the region of Daphnae via Lake Ballah, and it is to this failure that the relevant sources refer. This strikes me as a wildly uneconomical hypothesis and not worth further discussion.

2. *The Ptolemaic Canal.* All later sources except Aristotle connect Darius' enterprise with that of Ptolemy II, but whereas Diodorus and Strabo claim that Ptolemy completed a canal, Pliny denies even this, and reports that the king abandoned the project 34.5 miles north of Suez. Moreover, *pace* Oertel 1964, 21, 48, he does not seem to write as though the canal was operative in his own time. The only relevant oriental source, the so-called Pithom Stele (Naville 1902; Roeder 1959, 108-128), presents many problems of interpretation — notably the fact that the passage normally taken to narrate the cutting of the Red Sea canal (1,16) describes the venture as undertaken to 'delight the gods' of the 14th nome, which lay to the *north-east* and included Sile and Pelusium — but it cannot be denied that line 24 appears to mention a "canal of the mountain of the east" running north from the Suez Gulf and presumably linking with the waterway from the Nile to Lake Scorpion described in line 16. Pliny's treatment of the subject therefore implies that some portion of the canal (*prima facie* a part between the Bitter Lakes and the Nile) had silted up by the first century A.D. Plutarch *Antony* 69 suggests this was already so in the year of Actium.

3. *The reason for Darius' alleged failure to complete the canal* is variously

stated as fear that salt water would pollute the Nile (Aristotle) and fear of Egypt being inundated (Diodorus, Strabo). Pliny offers both explanations (as alternatives) in relation to Ptolemy's failure. These are not actually inconsistent fears — the stated justification (that the Red Sea is higher than Egypt) is the same in both cases and one *could* fear that one (inundation) or at least the other (salination) would happen, and this is in fact how Pliny puts it — but they are nonetheless distinct, with the more dramatic scenario first appearing in the tradition later than the other one — not an unnatural progression.

4. *Darius' predecessors.* Necho is named in Diodorus, Sesostris in Aristotle and Pliny. Both are noted by Strabo C804, but C38 (which only mentions Sesostris) and the phrasing of C804 show that the Sesostris version is the one that Strabo favours. It appears that he was wrong, since there is no independent Egyptian evidence for a Nile-Suez canal prior to Necho (cf. Posener 1938; Shea 1977). As for Necho, preliminary archaeological investigation at Tell Maskutah (Holladay 1982) does appear to be consistent with the idea that the eastern part of the Wadi Tumilat was (re)connected with the Nile in the time of Necho. This favours the assumption of Herodotus and others that Necho's canal was essentially along the same route as Darius' and tells against the view of Aly Shafei (apparently reflected in the map in Shea 1977 and entertained, but not ultimately endorsed, by Bietak 1975, 138) that what Necho actually attempted was a quite different route starting in the north and passing (like the modern Suez canal) through Lake Ballah.

Only Strabo provides reasons for these kings' failure, viz. fear of the higher level of the Red Sea (Sesostris; Strabo C38) and death (Necho: Strabo C804). The economical hypothesis is probably that Diodorus and Strabo reflect two slightly different hellenistic traditions (with Strabo glancing at the one followed by Diodorus in his aside that some people make Necho Darius' only precursor, but preferring the alternative one which went back to Aristotle). This involves the assumption that Diodorus' source attributed Necho's non-completion to his inopportune death. This does not strike me as unreasonable. There is no proof that any hellenistic author spoke of the oracle which dissuades Necho in Herodotus; and since in most other respects later sources appear to be independent of Herodotus there is no particular reason to postulate a shared view at this point either.

5. *The course of Darius' canal.* Herodotus makes it start a little south of Bubastis and notes that it went past Patoumos (Pithom)[5] and through a gorge (*diasphagai*) just before turning south (? the narrow eastern end of Wadi Tumilat near T. Maskhutah). These are circumstantial details which

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[5] Variously identified as Tell Maskhutah (Lloyd 1988b, 154; Redford 1982, 1056) or Tell er-Retaba (Bietak 1984, 621; Gardiner 1924, 95f; Kitchen n.d.).

have no counterpart in other texts, where, by contrast, we do have allusions to the Bitter Lakes (Strabo, Pliny), unknown to Herodotus. A starting point is given by three other sources, all of which are, properly speaking, describing Ptolemy's canal, though the two who also mention Darius appear to assume that the same route was in question. Unfortunately the starting points on offer — viz. Pelusiac mouth (Diodorus), Phakoussa (Strabo) and 'the river north of Heliopolis' (Pithom stela) — are in conflict with one another and (in some measure) with Herodotus.

(i) Diodorus' assertion, taken literally, is quite out of line with the other evidence. We must either reject it (adding the speculation that there is a confusion with the 'first canal south of Pelusium' mentioned in Strabo C804, which may itself have some relation with the eastern canal recently discovered between Pelusium and Sile: Bietak 1975, 131-139; Shea 1977) or assume that his source actually spoke vaguely of the Pelusiac *branch* of the Nile. The passage about the Red Sea canal is a parenthesis within a long section devoted to the Nile and its peculiarities (I 32-41), so we can hardly be certain that 'from the Pelusiac mouth' should be taken literally, especially since Diodorus' own description (I 33,7) of the configuration of the Nile mouths seems to leave no room for the canal. Even then it is still an open question whether the source had in mind a location which could be *anywhere* on the Pelusiac branch (including e.g. the region of Heliopolis and Bubastis) or one which was still relatively close to the mouth. The latter assumption would, of course, suit the view of Aly Shafei on Necho mentioned above (§ 4), but it certainly will not do for Darius.

(ii) The old view put Phakoussa at Saft el-Hineh, between Bubastis and the Wadi Tumilat entrance. If this were correct, there would be no real problem of consistency with Herodotus. But current orthodoxy locates Phakoussa at Faqus and a moment's examination of the contours on Bietak 1975, plan 4 reveals that any canal starting there but passing through the Wadi Tumilat would have to run over 20 km. SW to the latitude of Bubastis before it could enter the Wadi — in other words this is a wholly inappropriate starting point for the canals of Ptolemy and Darius, and must be excluded from the argument. The fact that Hecataeus 1 F303 mentioned Phakoussa has no demonstrable connection with the matter.

(iii) The Pithom stela's "north of Heliopolis" (Naville 1902, 72; Roeder 1959, 122) is not formally at odds with Herodotus. Bubastis and Heliopolis are the largest places in the relevant region, so any spot on the Nile between them might in principle be quite naturally located by reference to either. But the matter is not straightforward. On the one hand there is Herodotus' "a *little* south of Bubastis": would he or his informant have made this qualification if the site was actually nearer Heliopolis? Those who lay stress on this will in practice opt for a site pretty close to Bubastis.[6] On the other hand the lie of the land (cf. Bietak 1975, plan 4) seems to preclude a point much north of Tell Yahudiyeh, a site which is at least twice as far from Bubastis as from Heliopolis. Perhaps the answer is that Bubastis was on the Nile whereas Heliopolis was not (being connected to it, north and south, by its own waterway). From the point of view of someone travelling up the main Pelusiac branch, Herodotus' description might not after all be so unreasonable, even if the key point was around Tell Yahudiyeh, as Bietak 1975, 88 assumes (adding as an elaboration the suggestion that Darius' canal struck off from the main Nile branch, whereas Ptolemy's started from the Heliopolis waterway). One cannot fail to notice, though it may not constitute a valid argument, that the Darius statue whose Egyptian texts bear some relation to those of the canal stelae (see below) was originally erected precisely in Heliopolis.

6. *The dimensions and length of the canal* are variously stated, thus: Herodotus — width sufficient for two triremes, length = four days' journey from Bubastis to Suez and more than 1000 stades from the Mediteranean to Red Sea. Strabo — width 100 cubits, depth sufficient for a *myriophoros naus*. Pliny — width 100 feet, depth 40 feet, intended length 62.5 miles. Once again there is evidently no contact between Herodotus and the later tradition. As for the value of his figures: four days' journey is certainly longer than necessary for Bubastis-Suez, especially if one is thinking in terms of triremes. Perhaps, depite the apparent implication of the text, this is really a figure for the whole Mediterranean-Suez transit, or perhaps we should assume that the ships moved with some circumspection in the restricted space of the canal, A width sufficient for two triremes is probably in the vicinity of 30 metres or 100 feet (the latter is Herodotus' estimate in connection with the Athos canal). The figure of 45 metres often encountered in modern literature (e.g. Hinz 1975b) apparently derives from French measurements of the canal traces (cf. Wiedemann 1887, 562; Lloyd 1988b , 153) and may have more to do with Ptolemy's version of the canal (it is not far off Strabo's 100 cubits).

7. *The motives for a Nile-Suez canal.* Aristotle makes the unhelpful observation that it would have been 'useful' to the Egyptian kings for 'all this region' (? the Nile-Suez area or the Red Sea itself — the context leaves it unclear) to have been navigable. Herodotus offers no explicit comment, but does suggest certain inferences. (i) He comments on the relative distance between the two seas by land and by river/canal. (ii) He reports that the canal could take two triremes at a time and says that, upon abandoning the

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[6] Lloyd 1988b, 153 espouses such a view, making the Darius canal start around Mina el-Kamh, very close to Bubastis.

enterprise, Necho constructed triremes on both seas. (iii) He also links the project with the alleged *periplous* of Libya. Taken together these remarks suggest that communication between the Mediterranean (not just Egypt) and the Red Sea was the real focus and that, if the background can be defined at all, it is one of military action, at least as far as Necho is concerned and perhaps also for Darius. Herodotus also observes that Scylax sailed from the Indus to the point whence Necho despatched the Phoenicians round Africa (*i.e.* Suez). But this is *not* an implicit hint about Darius' intention to establish India-Egypt communications; Herodotus is simply underlining the fact that both Scylax and the Phoenicians were engaged in exploration and that what emerged was a certain symmetry between Asia and Libya, since the two trips allegedly took comparable amounts of time (cf. How & Wells I, 320 and the map of Herodotus' world picture in Boardman 1980, 21).

8. *Necho's supposed failure*. The sources which mention Necho agree that he failed to complete his canal. But since both the canals which we know were completed (Darius' and Ptolemy's) could come to be described as unfinished, it is natural to suspect that Necho may actually have been successful. The assertions of Herodotus and Diodorus to the contrary cannot be regarded as decisive. If so, then Herodotus' version of why Necho abandoned the project (loss of life among the workers and an oracle warning that all the effort would only benefit a barbarian) will reflect fifth century Egyptian opinion hostile to the Persian canal as something serving the foreign overlord's interests rather than those of Egypt — an attitude consistent with the apparent abandonment of the waterway after 404 BC and perhaps with the assumption that Necho's purpose had beeen chiefly military, since we are at liberty to imagine that later Saite monarchs had different military priorities.

9. *Date*. The greco-roman sources cast no light on this at all. In particular, Herodotus' comment about Scylax sailing to Suez neither requires nor precludes a date for the canal project close to Scylax' voyage (*i.e.* 517-5).

10. *Conclusion*. The later sources are not dependent upon Herodotus. But, especially because of possibilities of confusion with Ptolemy's project, they are also not the source of potentially reliable independent tradition about Darius. Herodotus is really all we have that is of any use.

Oriental Sources

The line of Darius' canal was marked by various inscribed monuments. We have evidence for the following:

(a) Two stelae at Tell el-Maskhutah, (i) hieroglyphic text (= Posener 1936, no. 8; (ii) cuneiform text (Jaillon 1890, 97, 101; Scheil 1930, 93 [OP]).

(b) Lost fragments of both hieroglyphic and cuneiform text from 'Serapeum', north of the bitter lakes (Posener 1936, 48 n. 3). These doubtless could represent two separate stelae.

(c) Two stelae at Chaluf (alias Kabret), (i) hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts on opposite faces (Posener 1936, no. 9; DZa-c; Scheil 1930, 93-5 [Elamite]), (ii) a second cuneiform text, with different iconography (lost: evidence = reports by Rozières, Devilliers and Lepsius: cf. Menant 1887, 132; Posener 1936, 64-5; Mayrhofer 1978, §10.2); there is no telling if there was a hieroglypic text on the opposite face.

(d) A monument at Chaluf, found by Bronard in 1863 and mentioned by Jaillon 1890, 98, but now lost. It consisted of a volute column on a polyhedral base and with a very shallow cylindrical 'capital' (diameter: 1,4 metres; depth: 12 cm.). The side of the capital had 7-8 cm. high cuneiform letters, the top a carved relief showing three standing figures and a 'Persian eagle holding a crown in its beak' (*i.e.* evidently an Ahuramazda figure).

(e) Fragments assumed to be from one stele at Koubri, 6 or 7 km. north of Suez (Posener 1936, no.10; Scheil 1930, 95-7 [Akkadian]).

(f) A lost cuneiform fragment 'from Suez' (Mayrhofer 1978, §10.1).

In addition we could reasonably postulate a monument or monuments on at least one more site west of Tell el Maskhutah (Clédat 1919, 215 suggests Tell el Kebir; and should there not also have been one at the start of the canal?). Moreover, in view of (a) and (b) above, it is tempting to suppose that the stelae came in pairs throughout. So the actual total should have been as high as 12, the figure suggested (without argument) by Ray 1988, 263. At any rate it seems clear that the project received its full share of monumental celebration, though as things stand now, only the three hieroglyphic texts (Posener 1936, 8-10) and the reconstructed cuneiform text of Chaluf (the reverse of Posener 1936, 9) are available for study.[7]

Viewed as a whole the stelae express a sort of equipollence between native and foreign elements, with Achaemenid style figures plus cuneiform texts and Egyptian figures plus hieroglyphic texts appearing back-to-back (Chaluf, Suez) or next to one another (Maskhutah). I stress equipollence. It is easy, as one contemplates the length and variety of the hieroglyphic texts by contrast with DZa-c, to think of the monuments as predominantly Egyptian. But to the majority of contemporary Egyptian and non-Egyptian viewers the fact that the cuneiform side contained a shorter text three times over in three different languages will not have been apparent: what they saw was simply equal amounts of Egyptian and non-Egyptian text.

It is perhaps also worth noting that the balance of Egyptian and non-

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[7] Readers of Edakov 1980, 110 should note that the apparent quotations from the Serapeum stele are an illusion: the author is simply inadvertently using the *siglum* ('SS') which he earlier assigned to the Serapeum stele in reference to Posener 1936, no. 10.

Egyptian is less equal on another indirectly connected monument, the inscribed statue eventually erected (along with others) at Susa but originally intended for the temple of Re at Heliopolis (Yoyotte 1972a; Luschey 1983a). This is generally assumed to be roughly contemporary (certainly Edakov's arguments for putting it as much as ten years after the canal stelae are not particularly strong[8]) but the emphasis does appear different. It is true that hieroglyphic texts are more prominent (they dominate the base and are the only ones on the body which can be easily read) and that the style and design (though not the use of paint) of the statue are in some respects Egyptian. But the clothing of the king is entirely Achaemenid and, unless he was wearing an Egyptian crown, the preponderant impression of the monument will have been its celebration of a *foreign* ruler. In the text, of course, the hieroglyphic composition does avoid the blunt assertion of conquest found in the cuneiform versions: where the latter declare the statue's purpose to be to show that a Persian man holds Egypt, the former says it has been made 'so that there should be a durable monument of Darius and so that he be remembered before his father Atum, Heliopolitan Lord of the Two Lands, Re Harakhte, for the whole extent of eternity'; and there is similar palliation of foreign conquest in the canal stelae hieroglyphs.

The cuneiform text of Chaluf is well enough preserved to permit complete restoration, and probably represents what appeared in cuneiform on all the stelae, though not on monument (d). The king announces that he seized Egypt and ordered the construction of a canal from the Nile to the sea which goes to Persia, that this was duly done and that ships went from Egypt to Persia. The stress is thus on Persian control of Egypt and on communication between Egypt and Iran (not between the two seas, as in Herodotus) — communication which one might view primarily as a symbol of the outreach of Persian power. Nothing in the text guarantees that Darius personally visited Egypt at any stage in the story; and whatever force is supposed to reside in 'I seized Egypt', there is no guarantee that the event in question was close in time to the date of the stele or even to the inception of the canal.

The hieroglyphic texts are poorly preserved and were first reduced to some semblance of continuous sense by Posener in 1936. Since then there has only been one complete reworking as far as I know, that of Servin (1951) in an obscure publication generally ignored in the literature. Oertel 1964 made some use of Servin's article but was not particularly impressed by his reconstruction of the texts, and the only more recent reference I have chanced upon is in Bresciani 1985, 509 n. 7, where the reconstruction is dismissed as unacceptable. Certainly it is very different from Posener's. By a combination of rearrangement of the fragments and simple divergent translation (neither of them justified by any argument), Servin produced a version in which Darius receives a report of famine in Egypt, goes to Sais and prostrates himself before Neith, consults the priests who advise donations to the gods and is then compelled to have a bit of canal west of the Bitter Lakes redug so that the said donations can be conveniently transported. There appears to be no question of a canal being made right through to the Red Sea. Servin even claims that the cuneiform text only guarantees digging 'in the direction of Persia' and that the 'Bitter Stream' in Scheil's translation of the Akkadian fragment refers to the Bitter Lakes and not to the sea (Oertel 1964, 26, 40 shares the latter misapprehension. 'Bitter Stream' is, in fact, nothing more than a restoration by Scheil, based on the OP text which reads *draya*, 'sea'). Without even entering into the merits of his treatment of the hieroglyphic texts, this gives one a measure of Servin's reliability, as does also his assertion that the *itrw* has been proved to be only 2.5 km (not 10.5) — recent research has continued to affirm the latter figure, while even adding some evidence for a longer *itrw* of 12.8 km. (Schwab-Schlott 1972, 112f). Posener's reconstruction therefore remains the only starting point.

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[8] Edakov 1980, 109 offers the following grounds. (i) The statue text uses a different version of the 'late' hieroglyphic form of Darius' name (cf. p.250) from that in the canal stelae. (ii) The statue text (Yoyotte 1972a, 2,4-5) inserts an extra statement about Darius' personal qualities at the point corresponding to Posener 1936, 8,4 (iii) DZc uses the 'archaic' OP words *uvaspam* and *umartiyam*, whereas DSab ends with a prayer formula only parallelled in the 'late' texts DSn and DSs. (i) and (ii) are uncompelling as chronological indicators; (iii) seems positively misconceived. The only interesting thing about the two adjectives is that they normally appear in the 'Bestowal of Kingdom' formula, not in the 'Creations of Ahuramazda' one. In other words DZc is eccentric here and therefore not relatively datable at all. As for 'Me may Ahuramazda protect and all that I have done', even if DSn and DSs are 'late' Susa texts (on what grounds?) I cannot see that this establishes anything about the relationship between DZc and DSab.

Each stela has three registers of text. The upper two are apparently identical on all three monuments. Register 1 largely consists of speeches by the Nile gods announcing their gift to Darius of rule over the world and of happiness, joy, offerings like those for Ra and so forth. The two gods' discourses differ slightly from one another. Register 2 repeats the gift of all lands and gives a list of them. (On Posener 1936, no. 10 the two columns of the list are reversed).

Register 3 is the one which interests us most, since it gives a narrative of the canal's creation. It is also the least well preserved, and its contents are not identical on all three stelae. Each text consists of (a) an introductory section with royal titularies and the like and (b) the narrative proper. Posener 1936, no. 8 (a) is a largely Egyptian composition with a Persian element embedded in the middle (4-5), viz.: "Darius, may he live for ever, the great, king of kings ... Hystaspes, Achaemenid, the great", a formula which, it now appears, could be supplemented on the basis of the Susa Statue hieroglyphic text (Yoyotte 1972a, no. 2,4: "Darius, may he live for ever, the great, king of kings, supreme lord of all the earth in its totality, son of father-of-the-god Hystaspes, Achaemenid").[9]

The start of no. 9 as translated by Posener is very lacunose: "The god who ... (2) ... (3) .. men ... (4) king of kings ... [son of Hystaspes] (5) Achaemenid, the great ...", but it is tempting to follow hints in his commentary and try to make more of this. There is reason to think that Posener allows one line too many at the opening, *i.e.* that line 2 should be removed and a one-line lacuna placed later between lines 10 and 11 (see Posener 1936, no. 71f.); and if this is done we can then insert fragment 35 at the end of the first two lines thus:

(1) the god who ... who created men, who created wellbeing
(2) for men ... Darius may he live for ever, the king, L.P.H.
(3) the King of Kings ...
(4) Achaemenid, the great ...

in other words, a Creations of Ahuramazda formula, followed by something like no. 8,4-5, making an equivalent to DZc 1-6. But it must be admitted that working this through thoroughly would be problematic: the lacunae in lines 1 and 2 should be of roughly the same length, but (by reference to the cuneiform text) ought to contain Egyptian translations of two phrases which are of different length and the first of which seems far too short, viz. 'created yonder sky, who created this earth' and 'who made Darius king, who bestowed upon Darius the king the kingdom, great, rich in horses, rich in men'. Moreover the gap in line 3 seems to require something longer than just 'supreme lord of all the earth in its totality, son of father-of-the-god Hystaspes'.

Virtually nothing is preserved of the start of no. 10, but it seems clear that it was different from no. 8 and 9, and there is no proof of any Persian element at all.

The narrative in no. 9 is the least badly preserved version and one can distinguish the following elements:

(a) consultation (7-13)
(b) the order for digging of a canal (14-15)
(c) the report that Darius' order was executed and boats sailed from Egypt to Persia (15-16)
(d) a laudatory speech (18-20)
(e) Darius order for a commemorative stela and its execution
(f) further acclamations and praise of the enterprise (21-22).

Since the surviving words of no. 10,14-19 fit with the latter part of no. 9,14-19 — albeit with a slightly different vertical disposition (one which might suggest that the version in no. 9 has one or two words more than that in no. 10 but probably results only from slightly more generous spacing of signs in no. 9), we may guess that elements (b) — (d) were similar or identical in no. 10. The parallel might have stretched earlier. The relevant part of no. 9 is missing higher up on the stela, so it is impossible to be sure; but what survives in no. 10 would fit quite well contextually into the relevant spaces in no. 9, provided that one postulates the lacuna between lines 10 and 11 noted above. On the other hand, it seems clear that perhaps (e) and more certainly (f) were not reproduced in no. 10, which ends with a tantalizing numeral, hard to fit into no. 9, 22, however it be interpreted. With 8 the divergences are much greater. We do not find what appears to be the issue of an order for boats to come from Egypt (something corresponding to no. 9,14 = no. 10,14) until lines 19-20; in other words the narrative is virtually entirely given over to the preliminary consultations. Even so, and even with the help of no. 9,14f, it is difficult to discern more than that Darius initiated an inquiry into the state of the canal zone and discovered that there was sand and no water over a distance of 8 *itrw* (84 or 100 km.). Neither treatment, it should be noted, seems to have given any great space to describing the actual building of the canal.

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[9] Edakov 1980, 109 inserts simply 'master of the land (i.e. Egypt)'. This identification of the 'land', based on the assumption (*ibid.* n. 40) that in standard OP texts 'this great earth' refers to Persia, is of course misguided. Edakov also proposes some supplements to the purely Egyptian parts of no. 8, 1-6, notably 'to conquer the two lands completely' (8,3) and '... with it [the bow], so as to ward off rebels, so as to kill (enemies)' (8,4).

Both narratives could quite readily be associated with the so-called *Königsnovelle* genre, in which the pharaoh conceives a plan (e.g. for building or military activity), presents it to a council and then carries it through (irrespective of the council's opinion). Prolonged consideration of the examples in Hermann 1938 and of other texts which have been brought into this category (e.g. the Nitocris Stele (Caminos 1964) and the Amasis Stele (Edel 1978)) leaves me with the uneasy feeling that this is a genre the criteria for inclusion in which are rather too generous for the exercise to be useful. (My colleague Professor Kitchen tells me that he has a precisely similar feeling.) Still one can at least say that, traces of Persian titulary apart, the general 'feel' of the contents of Register 3 in Posener 1936, no. 8-10 *is* traditionally Egyptian.

The King's whereabouts. Hinz, following Posener, assumes that the consultation process was initiated in Persepolis (reading '[the city he loved] more than anything' in no. 8,7). All that is really certain is that the narrative starts in Persia (no. 8,6; no. 10,5) and that there may be reference to a residence built by Cyrus (no. 8,7; no. 9,6). Hinz further proposes that Darius visited Egypt at the end of the project — the basis for this is presumably the assumption that the *Festansprache* of no. 9,18-20 = no. 10,18-20 and the king's order for a stele (no. 9,20) occurred in Egypt. This strikes me as actually a gratuitous assumption. The claim that the reference to 'princes and inspectors' in no. 9,17 relates to the issue of invitations to the official opening of the canal at which the king will be present is not particularly compelling: they could just as well be passengers on the boats newly arrived in Persia (cf. no. 9,15); and the orator of the *Festansprache* might be one of their number. I am not, of course, claiming that this is definitely the case, only that Hinz's interpretation is not proven.

The course of the canal. The only relevant data are (i) a reference to Hrm (a lake/canal in the Pithom nome) in no. 9,13, (ii) the toponym *Sb* in no. 8,10, 11, 14, 17 (probably somewhere near the canal zone) and (iii) the distance of 8 *itrw* where there was no water (no. 8,18), and of these (i) and (ii) are quite unhelpful. (iii) must relate somehow to the length of the eventual canal and might be thought to bear upon its route. The greco-roman sources have already fixed the general route as Bubastis, Wadi Tumilat, Suez, and the total length of the canal would be in excess of 160 km. It follows that only a portion had to be cleared of sand, and the question is whether we can discern which 84 (or 102) km. was involved. Since (a) the continued existence of the Tell el Maskhutah site, originally founded in conjunction with Necho's canal project (Holladay 1982), seems to presuppose that a (freshwater) canal remained open between there and the Nile (which tells against locating the 84 km. in this sector, *contra* Oertel 1964, 40) and (b) the distance from Maskhutah to Suez along the modern freshwater canal is a little over 90 km., it is tempting to suppose that it was this latter stretch which needed clearing (from which it follows that the canal was cut around the western edge of the Bitter Lakes). Indeed, so far as the 8 *itrw* are concerned, no other solution seems possible. It would not help to assume that the canal traffic did use the Bitter Lakes and that it was the whole of the remainder of the Bubastis-Suez transit which needed clearing, since the Lakes would only account for some 40 km. of the 160+ km. total. By contrast, Hinz's claim that the stelae prove the canal to have contained fresh water the whole way — precluding a transit of the Lakes — seems to me to be in itself ungrounded. Yet Clédat 1924, 62f. claimed that the ancient canal traces only existed at the north and south of the Bitter Lakes, through which (he deduced) traffic must have passed, and nobody has subsequently claimed contrary archaeological evidence. Thus Posener states the find spots of no. 8 and no. 10 in relation to the canal traces, but not that of no. 9, which is near the edge of the Bitter Lakes. Moreover, to judge from the map in Clédat 1919, the actual site of 9 is so close to the edge at a point where it has a sharp north-easterly indentation that it could hardly be supposed to mark a canal making its way from the Wadi Tumilat to Suez by the most expeditious route round the Bitter Lakes. I am unsure what the correct solution is. But Strabo thought that Ptolemy's canal at least went through the Bitter Lakes (and the fact that the Pithom stela talks of a canal from 'north of Heliopolis' to 'Scorpion Lake' might be cited in support), and I wonder whether we are justified in insisting upon a particular interpretation of 8 *itrw* when its implications are arguably in conflict with the material evidence.

Date. Several arguments have been or might be used to establish a date in the 490s. All turn out to be more or less flawed.

(i) *A date formula?* Posener no. 10 ends with the numeral '24'. Posener doubted that this was a date, largely because, for various other reasons, he was sure the text predated year 24. There is, of course, a reference to 24 ships in no. 9,16 (unless the correct restoration is actually 32), but it is not particularly obvious why they should suddenly reappear at the end of the final sentence of 10 — and still less obvious that the 24 peoples of Register 2 are to the point. A date remains the most probable thesis. Hinz took this view and understood a reference to year 24 (498) — this being, he claimed, when the canal was actually finished, as distinct from the date of the celebrations at which Darius was present, which he placed in 497-6 (see below). This is slightly problematic, since what immediately precedes in 10 is the *Festansprache* which belongs to the celebrations of (allegedly) 497-6; should the date-formula not also refer to that context? But more important doubts are raised by the facts that (i) the reading '24' is uncertain (only '4' is unimpeachable) and (ii) there is, as Professor Kitchen has kindly assured me, not the slightest reason, so far as surviving traces go, why we should not understand '24' as the 24th day of a particular month whose identity is now lost. In short, there is nothing in the final words of Posener no. 10 to require a date in the 490s.

Hinz's belief that Darius visited Egypt in 497-6 is based on an argument from PFT. The point is simple, that there is no attestation of Darius' presence within the area covered by the Persepolis bureaucracy between November/December 498 (PF 1554 — 9/xxiv) and April 495 (1313—1/xxvii), these being the dates on two travel documents (Q texts) in which a royal travel authorization is mentioned. Hence the conclusion that Darius was away from Persia for most of years 25 and 26. This is seductive but perhaps deceptive.

(a) Hallock held that J texts ('dispensation on behalf of the king') presupposed the king's presence. One such text (699) is dated to year 25 (location: Uzikurras). Naturally this might belong to the very start of year 25 and hardly encroach upon the supposed absence (see below however); but the mere existence of the text spoils the perfect silence from which Hinz constructs his argument. Of course, Hallock's view of J texts might be incorrect; and another year 25 text mentioning the king (1827) probably does not prove Hinz wrong, since it is a letter of Ziššawiš transmitting a royal order which doubtless could have reached him by letter from Egypt.

(b) There is a more general statistical point. The surviving dated PF texts are not distributed evenly through the years covered by the corpus, and the distribution of Q texts is particularly uneven. Since there are only eight texts altogether from year 26 the fact that none are Q texts is not something from which to draw any inferences. Year 25 may seem slightly less clear cut, since it is represented by 67 texts. Yet when one considers that it is hardly probable that nobody went through Fars in year 25 carrying a document authorizing travel rations (whether issued by the king or some other high dignitary) and that in e.g. year 24, when far more tablets survive (168), only 8 are Q texts and only three involved royal authorization, it remains difficult to be impressed by much except the vagaries of survival. Incidentally, since a J text has entered the argument above, it should be noted that the pattern of survival of J and Q texts is not uniform. In year 26, for example, there are many Q texts, including ones mentioning the king, but only one J text (PFa 31). So the solitary J text of year 25 does not establish that the king was absent for much of the year. Of course, there is a contrast between year 25 and year 28, which produces a similar number of texts all told (61) and nine references to royal travel authorization in six different months. But, then, there are 26 Q texts (well over a third of the total for the year), seventeen of which, let it be noted, do not mention the king. The pattern of survival is simply quite different. To put the matter simply: one should only think of deducing royal absence in a year which produces plenty of Q texts, none of which mentions the king. There is no such year.

One final observation. I suspect that when Hinz turned to PFT he was hoping to discover some sign of Darius' absence in year 24. As a matter of fact he might have done better to stick to that aim and highlight the fact that the 8 Q texts from that year only mention the king in months 3 and 9, leaving a theoretical gap from May to November. But the time for a round trip to the Nile is rather tight, and in any case the distribution of Q texts through the months of any given year is not even either, with the middle months receiving less attestations, so there would be statistical objections once again.

The upshot, then, is that PFT provides no independent reason to postulate a date in the 490s for the canal stelae. Are there other phenomena which can do so more successfully?

(ii) *The King's Name*. Hieroglyphic texts use two main spellings of Darius' name (each with additional variants which do not concern us here) with initial T and INT respectively. The stelae use the latter, often regarded as proper to the very last part of Darius' reign. The facts are as follows:

1. The T form is attested in year 4 at the Serapeum and years 26-7 at Wadi Hammamat; and it is standard in demotic throughout.
2. The INT form appears in years 28, 30, 36 at Wadi Hammamat, years 31 and 34 at the Serapeum and years 33 and 34 on alabastra found in Syria and Susa. It is also reflected at least once in demotic in P. Loeb 45 (year 25).
3. Among undated documents the large majority use the so-called late form. (T appears in Bresciani 1958a, 267 (lower Egypt), Posener 1936, no. 13,114 (upper Egypt), and Posener 1936, no. 101 (no provenance). INT appears in Posener 1936, nos. 102, 103, 105, 110, Bresciani 1958a, 268,

Burchardt 1911, 71, Naville 1882, pl. viiA, the Susa statue (Yoyotte 1972a) (lower Egypt), Posener 1936, nos. 35, 107, 115 and the Hibis temple inscriptions (Winlock 1941) (upper Egypt), Posener 1936, nos. 39-42 (vases from Susa) and Posener 1936, nos. 104, 106, 108-109, 111-113, 116 and Gropp 1979 (no provenance)). These facts certainly do not justify a late date for the canal stelae.

(a) The orthographic point at issue is the problem of writing OP /d/ in a language lacking that sound. This was a problem whose discovery did not need to wait a quarter century.

(b) Given that we have no dated spelling of Darius' name between his accession and his 26th year save in year 4, we are in no position statistically to draw any conclusions; at the very least we should need a set of Serapeum texts from the middle of the reign before we could claim a usable spread of evidence.

(c) The fact that inscriptions in Wadi Hammamat shift from T to INT in year 28 carries no implications even for the rest of upper Egypt. In fact it hardly guarantees that Darius' name might not have been written with initial INT at Wadi Hammamat prior to year 28. The demotic of Loeb 45 confirms that at least one scribe in upper Egypt had perceived the pronounciation problem by year 25.

(d) The sharp numerical imbalance of undated texts using the two forms (even larger than may initially appear, considering the number of texts at the Hibis temple and the fact that these would have been cut stage by stage throughout an enterprise which the excavators believe to have had more than one distinct phase) suggests on the face of it that the INT form should not be confined to Darius' final 8 years (less than a quarter of his reign). Of course, monuments bearing the king's name might not be spread evenly throughout 521-486; it could even be a matter of some historical interest that they were not (*i.e.* that there was an exceptional flurry of activity at some period). But we can hardly assume it to have been so in default of independent evidence.

(iii) *Synarchy?* Calmeyer has suggested that the iconography of the Chaluf stela (cuneiform side), in which two royal figures face one another each accompanied by a cartouche (only the left-hand one remains legible), represents two actual 'kings' — *i.e.* Darius and his co-regent/heir apparent (Calmeyer 1976). If this were so, and if the co-regent were Xerxes, then the monument could hardly be much prior to the end of the sixth century. But the *Synarchie* thesis is insufficiently compelling to be exploited thus. And in the Chaluf stele I should be surprised if the name in the missing cartouche were not Darius', just as the text to the right of the right hand king, like that to the left of the left hand one, names Darius. The iteration of figures is a matter of design not *Staatsrecht*.

(iv) *The List of Peoples* on Register 2 naturally tempts the chronologer. We now know that it contained Skudra, thus disposing of the old view that the text preceded the Scythian expedition. We also know that, since the same list was used on the Susa statue, any pecularities (and notably its shortness) cannot simply be attributed to the spatial exigencies of a single monument but go back to a master copy. And the list certainly has various pecularities.

(a) Ionia, Caria and Gandara, present in some form in all other texts (Caria only from DSe onwards), are here absent.

(b) The Saka are treated unusually. We expect either plain Saka or (more likely) Saka haumavarga and Saka tigraxauda as two units. What we get is 'Saka of marsh and plain' (not a bad description of possible different categories of central Asian nomads) or, according to Cameron 1975, after Hughes, 'Saka beyond Sogdiana' (a Persian formula, but not one proper to full lists of peoples). Neither is the product of mere inadvertence; and neither would most obviously be explained as deliberate rewriting of a conventional original by the Egyptian translator. So this would seem to be an eccentricity originating with the Persian officials who supplied the list to the Egyptian composer.

(c) The same cannot be said of two problems of order. (i) Sardis - Cappadocia - Skudra is eccentric by the standards of other lists. (ii) The treatment of the names in column 1 is also odd in including Arachosia and Sattagydia within the Areia, Parthia, Drangiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia group and in separating them one from another. Both these look like carelessness in transmission between the Persian original and the hieroglyphic translation.

Given other (questionable) indications of a 490s date, it is tempting to connect the absence of Ionia and Caria with the Ionian revolt. But are we really to think that the Persian authorities issued a text admitting to rebellion in this fashion, especially a rebellion they had every intention of putting down? Would the fact that the Egyptians could not have been unaware of rebellion in Asia Minor have compelled the Persians to be honest? And was there a revolt in Gandara as well about which they felt constrained to be open? In truth, one is tempted to say that 499-494 is the least likely period for a List of Peoples to have been constructed which omitted Ionians and Carians and that it was only in periods when the area was uncontentious that the Ionians might have been regarded as mere adjuncts of Sardis. There is, of course, an alternative approach — to suppose that the text does date from the 490s and that whoever drew up the hieroglyphic version omitted Ionia and Caria as a private gesture of resistance. One can even speculate that the original Persian list contained 28 names in two columns of 14, that the deletion of e.g. 'Ionians by the sea', 'Ionians beyond the sea' and 'Carians' from one column required the deletion of Gandara and the transfer of India to the other in order to produce two columns of 12 and maintain symmetry. Doubtless there are other possible versions of such speculation. I do not know how to decide how likely such a scenario is or how likely it is that some Persian official would have noticed that the list had got shorter and complained, even if he couldn't actually read the hieroglyphic characters.

The list remains a puzzle, but I am not convinced that it requires a date after 499.

(v) The clearance of 8 *itrw* of silted canal is generally deduced from the stelae narrative. Hinz, appealing to French surveyors' 45 metre width, calculated that Darius' workmen had to move 12 million cubic metres of sand, and thought this might take the 12 years from 510 to 498 BC. He does not explain, incidentally, why he assumes the canal to have had a depth slightly in excess of 3 metres. I have no idea whether this is a 'reasonable' estimate — the only immediately pertinent parallel, the construction of 2,2 km of Athos canal to similar width specifications, is of no help given that the latter was built from scratch and that we do not know how long it took, only that it must have been done within the period 484-482 inclusive. Hinz's figure is probably an overestimate anyway, since the canal need not have been 45 metres wide (see above p. 241, §6); the sand to be shifted may only have been some 8 million cubic metres and a job capable of completion in 8 years (even accepting Hinz's other assumptions). The canal will not have been started before Darius' fifth year and could therefore have been completed as early as 510 B.C. More radically, it may be simply wrong to think in terms of a calculation which involves multiplying 86km. by some figures for width and depth. This is to pay no attention to the fact that Necho had already done some or all of the job once. For there to be 'no water for 8 *itrw*' would not require the total, or even very significant, disappearance of the actual earthworks. After all the French found very considerable traces after a much longer period since the canal's last viability than had elapsed between Necho and Darius. One might also wonder whether the scant attention paid to the actual construction of the canal hints that the operation was not as gargantuan as is sometimes thought; but it must be admitted that the lost stelae may have had a Register 3 text with concentrated on this aspect, just as Posener 1936, no. 8 concentrates on the prior consultations.

(vi) Edakov 1980 has attempted to deduce a date for the canal's completion on the basis of the following propositions. (a) The canal monuments are earlier than the Heliopolis statue, though there is nonetheless much in common between the texts used in the two cases. (b) Both the canal monuments and the statue are earlier than the Hibis temple texts. (c) There is a significant similarity between parts of the statue texts and DNab, the latter being datable c.500. (d) The building-project at the Hibis temple probably occupied c.510-490. From all this Edakov proposes a date of c.500 for the completion of the canal. (The start he locates at the same time of the supposed visit of Darius in c.518 — itself a somewhat uncertain quantity: see below p. 264f.).

Proposition (a) has already been discussed in n.8: Edakov's reasoning is not cogent, but this may not matter such, since his final conclusion (canal completion c.500) actually minimizes the distance between canal and Heliopolis monuments (given that 500 is also the alleged chronological horizon of DNab). Proposition (c) is arguable, especially in regard to the date to be assigned to DNab. Propositon (d) was no more than a speculation by the excavators, at least partly based upon what I regard as false dogma about the 'late' form of Darius' name (above p. 250). Proposition (b) is the most interesting one. It depends on two facts: the Hibis texts use the same hieroglyphic writing of the 'late' form of Darius' name as the statue texts and a different one from the canal stelae; and the Hibis texts preserve at one point a full titulary of Darius including Horus-name (lost) and throne-name (Setut-Re), whereas these do not appear on the canal stelae or the statue (or indeed anywhere else). The first of these facts cannot really be construed as a substantially useful chronological pointer. The second is only significant if we are sure that the authors of the canal stelae and statue texts would have used the Horus- and throne-names if they had existed. If we do make that assumption, two conclusions follow. First, some time did elapse between the canal/Heliopolis monuments and the completion of the Hibis temple; but since the claimed date of c. 490 for the latter lacks real basis, this does not get us very far. Second, no coronation-ceremony had taken place by the time the canal was completed, which probably means that Darius neither visited Egypt prior to, nor on the occasion of, that completion. The contents of the canal stelae do not in fact require us to believe anything different from this (see above p. 247). But once again, since we lack an independent fix on when Darius *did* visit Egypt (see below p. 264f.), the conclusion is not very helpful chronologically speaking. Certainly there is no sense in which 500 emerges from these considerations as a more probable date for the canal's completion than any other date. One could just as well argue e.g. that Darius' first visit to Egypt was c.506/5 (see p. 266) and the canal finished a little before that. Moreover, the key assumption that the *absence* of Horus- and throne-name in Posener 1936, no. 8-10 and the statue texts is significant is not beyond question. Of all the Egyptian texts mentioning Darius, those on the walls of the Hibis temple were the most likely in any case in terms of genre to use the full titulary at some point. It they turn out to be the only ones to do so (and then, it should be stressed, only once in the preserved remains), we should perhaps not leap to any chronological conclusions.

So far as date goes, therefore, the upshot is that the oriental sources certainly do not *prove* the canal to have been finished in the 490s. The orthodoxy established by Hinz is unjustified,[10] and there is in fact probably no view which deserves to acquire the status of orthodoxy.

Motive. No explicit statement of motivation survives in the canal stelae, though the complete text of Posener 1936, no. 8 may have contained one. One would particularly like to know the import of references to Cyrus and to the mysterious *Sb*. As in the cuneiform texts the proof of the canal's completion is the despatch of ships from Egypt to Persia, suggesting the importance of communication with the imperial heartland. The hieroglyphic text adds the ships numbered 24 (or 32) and carried tribute, confirming that this communication is (at least *inter alia*) a symbol of Persian domination. One other point may be noted. Posener 1936, no. 9 ends with the remark that 'never had the like happened before'. Although in Egyptian practice the chief characteristic of proper behaviour was often quite the reverse — an action was good in proportion to its repetition of earlier actions — claims to novelty are not precluded (cf. e.g. Amasis' innovation in the matter of Apis sarcophagi, noted on his official stele), and are particularly in place in texts which are habitually assigned to the *Königsnovelle* genre (e.g. Hermann 1938, 9-11, nos. I, III, IX, XVI-XVIII). So the comment is not alien to Darius' role as Egyptian pharaoh. What is hard to know is how great an actual novelty was required for such a claim to be made. Does it prove that Necho's canal was never completed (perhaps never even came near to being completed)? Or is the reference to something less substantial? More important, is the intention to dismiss Necho's precedent entirely or rather to hint that Darius had followed the lead of a native king, but had done the job better, this being presumably a sign of his divine election? Given the state of the text, one can only pose the question and draw attention to two different states of mind on Darius' part which might be relevant to explanation of the undertaking.

Conclusion

The canal ran from south of Bubastis (probably around Tell Yahudiyeh) to Suez via the Wadi Tumilat, but it is unclear whether it traversed or circumvented the Bitter Lakes. It is conveivable that Darius was simply re-opening a waterway already completed by Necho. In any case, it is impossible to be sure how large a job was involved or how long it might have taken. There is no secure textual evidence for a completion date as late as the 490s, nor any proof that Darius was actually present in Egypt at the start or end of the project — though I am inclined to think that a visit at the end may be *a priori* likely. The oriental sources see the canal in terms of communication with Persia, Herodotus sees it in terms of communication between the Mediterranean and Red Seas and leads one to think particularly in terms of military shipping. There is no proof that he knew of any triremes actually making the trip between the two seas, though his description of the length of the Red Sea as "40 days under oar" is conceivably indirect testimony to trireme movements in that area during the Persian period (cf. Oertel 1964, 33 n.38, but see also p. 271 below). On the oriental side it should be noted that in Posener 1936, 9 and 10 the boats are *kbnt*-ships, the term which Lloyd thinks could be used to designate triremes (1972, 272f; 1988b, 153). There may be reason to think that the Egyptians of Herodotus' time and of the fourth century did not regard the canal as of sufficient use to themselves to save it from the stigma of association with the foreign power.

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[10] The protest in Root 1979, 67 is spoiled by mis-statement of the conclusions of Hinz against which the protest is being made.

CONTEXTS

Having discussed the immediate documentation on the canal, we may turn to the wider contexts within which the enterprise could be viewed, viz. (1) the history of Persian relations with Egypt from 525-486; (2) the evidence about use of the Red Sea and the value of creating a direct Nile-Red Sea link; and (3) the general impulses of Persian conquest and rule.

1. *Persia and Egypt, 525-486.*

(i) Motives of Conquest. There are three strands in the sources. The least interesting perhaps is the role of Phanes of Halicarnassus, whose desertion allegedly provided Cambyses with strategic information needed for a successful invasion. The important issue of access across the Syro-Egyptian desert will recur, but we should note immediately that building the canal in itself hardly made a substantial and reliable contribution to the exposure of Egypt to Persian attack (and hence continued control). If direct access across Sinai were blocked, a maritime assault starting from the Persian Gulf was only feasible if all the intermediate shores were firmly within the imperial framework, something that certainly never happened. If it was *envisaged*, of course, the canal would facilitate the transfer of the necessary maritime forces from the Mediterranean, but that is a different matter.

The second strand is inheritance of a plan of Cyrus. Deutero-Isaiah pictured Cyrus' acquisition of Egypt, Nubia and Saba (XLIII 3; XLV 14), Herodotus wrote that Cyrus planned to conquer Egypt (I 154), Xenophon even asserted that he did (*Cyr.* I 1, 4; VIII 6, 20f). How fully formed a plan this was is hard to say. The only possible Achaemenid evidence on the matter is the fact that the Pasargadae 'Genius' wears an Egyptian crown. Some argue that the immediate derivation is Syro-Levantine and that any intimation of foreign conquest is in that direction (Stronach 1985, 843); but one might regard this as unduly evasive and prefer the idea that Egypt is included within the sphere of potential Achaemenid control (Root 1979, 302; Nylander *ap.* Donadoni 1983, 43, suggesting four figures with different symbolic crowns). I am less certain that there are other 'Egyptian' features at Pasargadae pointing the same way. *Pace* Metzler, the placing of *genii* on door jambs is as likely to be Assyrian, the comparison of the *paradeisos* and the Karnak 'botanic garden' seems gratuitous, and the derivation of palace design from Karnak rather than greco-anatolian influence (Nylander) or Iranian tents (von Gall) is uncompelling. It would be hard to prove that Egyptian stylization of wings at Susa and Persepolis represents a tradition going back to Cyrus' time. The fact remains, however, that when the sources deal explicitly with Cambyses' invasion the theme of inheritance from Cyrus is only indirectly present.

The principal explanations of the invasion turn on marriages. The Persian version was that Cambyses had Nitetis, Apries' daughter, among his wives (Hdt. III 2, Dinon 690 F11). The Egyptian version (Hdt. *ibid.*, Ctes. 588 F13a) put the same lady in Cyrus' harem and (though a third variant denied this) claimed that Cambyses was her son and therefore Apries' grandson. In either case Cambyses' motive for invasion was to punish the Egyptians for providing a daughter of Apries, when what had been requested was a daughter of Amasis. The general view is that there was no truth in any of this. The origin of the tales is variously explained. Atkinson 1956 saw it as a Persian fabrication based on the principles of 'dowry-conquest'. She actually identified Herodotus' 'Egyptian' version as the Persian fabrication; but either version would do for her purpose. The alternative view makes it an Egyptian fabrication intended to render Cambyses more palatable by turning him into an Egyptian and making him the proper successor of the last legitimate king of Egypt — Amasis and Psammetichus III being regarded as usurpers. (Amasis had, of course, acceded by armed rebellion and faced more resistance than is immediately apparent from the Herodotean account: cf. Leahy 1988). The Persian version will then, presumably, be an attempt to deny the racial slur while maintaining the basic story of Egyptian duplicity.

The independent evidence that Amasis was repudiated *by Egyptians* as a usurper is not actually strong. The erasure of cartouches on some royal monuments (not just references to Amasis in private ones)[11] and Cambyses' alleged mistreatment of his mummy (Hdt. III 16) have no proven connection with such a view. In P. Dem. Rylands IX 16/1 Amasis is mentioned twice in date formulae and on the second occasion 'pharaoh' is omitted; in *ibid.* 27/7-9 both Amasis and Cambyses appear in data formulae without royal title. Elsewhere in the narrative we find 'pharaoh Amasis' (16/7) and anonymous references to him as 'the pharaoh'. These phenomena are alleged to reflect denigration of Amasis during Darius' reign. One could be forgiven for doubting the allegation; and once again usurpation is not the proven reason. There remain the Coptic Cambyses Romance and John of Nikiu 51, 18-49 which name Cambyses' opponent as Apries and are supposed to 'make it clear ... that Amasis was not regarded as a legitimate king in all quarters' (Lloyd 1988a, 62) — *i.e.* the *damnatio memoriae* of Amasis as usurper was so strong that the authors of the tradition ultimately represented in these late sources came to regard Apries as not only the last *legitimate* king of Egypt, but the last one *tout court*. Yet Jansen 1950 argued that John of Nikiu is not independent of the Romance (cf. Cruz-Uribe 1986) and that the Romance derives from an originally relatively uneccentric account which was later 'revised' by a Jewish author under the inspiration of Nebuchadnezzar's conflict with the Jews; and if this is anything like the truth the intrusion of Apries could be a side product of the intrusion of Nebuchadnezzar as Cambyses' uncomfortable alter ego and have nothing to do with Saite and XXVIIth Dynasty politics. Indeed, even if the thesis of a Jewish author is rejected (cf. MacCoull 1982, Cruz-Uribe 1986), the crucial point is that, since the replacement of Amasis' son Psammetichus III by Apries is not a isolated oddity but is matched by the confusion of Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar, we can hardly claim that the former reflects partisan views c.525 unless we are prepared to say the same of the latter. But that amounts to conceding that Egyptians associated the invasion of Cambyses with that of Nebuchadnezzar, and if we concede that we might after all conclude that Apries gets into the story because he was the target of the earlier, Babylonian attack (cf. Spalinger 1977). This dilemma leaves one feeling that the Cambyses Romance is simply not a very cogent item of evidence.

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[11] cf. Bresciani 1967, 277; Meulenaere 1968, 184. The recently noticed 'privatisation of a head of Amasis' (Josephson 1988) had also better not be over-interpreted: the object is still, after all, only 6 cm. high.

In short, it is possible that Amasis was subjected to posthumous condemnation (witness cartouche erasure), though not persistently or widely (see below), but that this was on account of his being a usurper is not proven. So there is no independent confirmation that accounts of Cambyses' motives in 525 play on marriage relations with Apries because there was an attempt to exploit native hostility to Amasis as an interloper. Even if we stick with the assumption that Herodotus III 2 derives ultimately from *Egyptian* fabrications, the explanation of Apries' appearance may be simpler. Any invention intended to turn Cambyses into a member of Egyptian royal dynasty could not do so by making him a son of Amasis without denying Cyrus' paternity and devising some complicated explanation for his Persian mother having an Egyptian royal paramour. Apries was the latest pharaoh with whom it was straightforward to fabricate a family connection — straightforward because the idea of Cyrus having an Egyptian wife was not especially eccentric. Kings did take wives from foreign places (Amasis had a Greek one; and could Herodotus' Babylonian Queen Nitocris be a confusion resulting from the presence of an Egyptian princess in a Babylonian harem?), and it was easier to intrude a fake princess into Cyrus' harem and deny Cassandane's maternity than to intrude an Iranian princess into Amasis' court and then explain how Cambyses came to be born in Iran. By the same token, of course, such fabrications would also have been easy for Persian sources to perpetrate (especially given the evidence of conquest-by-marriage to which Atkinson drew attention, even without her elaboration about Iranian views of the law of dowries). By the same token again, there might even be some truth in it (cf. Lang 1972). It is hardly impossible that Amasis could have sought an accommodation with Persia by despatching a royal princess to the harem of Cyrus or even Cambyses. We do not have to postulate birth dates for Cambyses and Nitetis which would make the latter match grotesque. In fact, if we were to admit the truth of the story, the 'Persian' version (union with Cambyses) is perhaps the better one to follow; the mechanism of distortion into the 'Egyptian' version is easy to see, whereas it is less easy to see why the Persians should turn a wife of Cyrus into one of Cambyses. An additional possible twist to the problem is the suggestion that Amasis himself might have married a daughter of Apries.[12]

In short: the general approach is to regard Herodotus III 2 as evidence for propaganda — Egyptian manipulation aimed at assimilating the conqueror and Persian claims that it was Egyptian duplicity which caused the conquest (claims which could be used to suggest that the Achaemenids' real enemy was Amasis and that Egyptians at large could hope for friendly treatment). The possibility should be considered, however, that the Persian line was more firmly based in reality (cf. Lloyd 1983, 286 n.1) — that there had been matrimonial 'diplomatic' contact between Memphis and Pasargadae which Cambyses eventually chose to turn against the Egyptians by maintaining that a daughter of Apries was an unsatisfactory sort of pawn. In either event one other thing is worth noting. The Egyptian response was not to deny duplicity but to Egyptianize Cambyses: it mattered more to assimilate the new order as much as possible to the previous one than to defend Amasis' credit — which indicates how important *Persian* assimilation-policies would be.

(ii) *Cambyses' rule of Egypt* in greco-roman sources, is notoriously a spectacle of violated Egyptian sensitivities, aggravated military failure and personal madness. It is important to redress the balance, though not to overreact. Cambyses followed correct precedent by having throne and Horus names conferred upon him, presupposing coronation as pharaoh of Egypt — which is what he chiefly was for the final three years of his reign: it is not always adequately stressed that from 525 he ruled his whole empire from Memphis. The contrast with the Assyrian conquerors of Egypt is telling. At the instance of Udjahorresnet he deported himself as benefactor of the Neith temple at Sais, doing 'all the things that had been done before' — an important gesture of continuity in the homeland of the Saite dynasty and one which sorts ill with the alleged mutilation of Amasis' corpse. Of course, the gesture followed an initial period of disturbance ('misfortune' the like of which had *not* been seen before — a telling formal contrast), during which all sorts of unpleasant things might be thought to have occurred (Posener 1936, no. 1, 17f., 31f., 37f.). He was prepared to consult Egyptian oracles (Hdt. III 64 is decent evidence for this even if the response is *post eventum*). He married two of his sisters — before 525 if Herodotus is right, but one of them accompanied the Egyptian expedition and died in Egypt (murdered by Cambyses, the hostile tradition had it). Royal sibling marriage had a long Egyptian history and may have been practised in the Saite dynasty (Vittmann 1975, 384f.; Psammetichus II, Apries). He followed Amasis' practice in donating a stone sarcophagus for the deceased Apis bull.[13] The animal died at the time of the invasion but was not buried until much later, circumstances doubtless responsible for the false assertion that Cambyses killed him.

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[12] See Vittmann 1975, 384f. Godron 1986 suggests a connection between the oculist who figures in Herodotus' story and the doctor Udjahorresnet. Striking in a different way is the parallel with the Bentresh stele: here a foreign princess has married Ramses II and her family in Bakhtan request that an Egyptian doctor be sent to treat the princess's sister. The story is non-historical and perhaps invented as late as the Persian period (Erman 1883; Posener 1934 and most recently Moorschauser 1988, whose revival of the suggestion that Bakhtan = Hamadan/Ecbatana sharpens the connection with the Persian period).

Such an accusation reflects the fact that not all Cambyses's actions were respectful. Principally he overthrew 'all the temples of Egypt' — so Elephantine Jews wrote a century later (AP 30, 14), and there are similar generalizations in Diodorus I 46, 4; 95, 4 and Strabo XVII 1, 27. But two of them are tagged with suspicious vagueness onto reports on specific depredations at Thebes, while the third is part of Darius' assertion of exceptional benignity towards Egyptian values — Persian propaganda, in other words, whose effects explain the Elephantine document. Other texts refer to just three sites of damage to religious buildings; Heliopolis (Strabo XVII 1, 27), Diospolis/Thebes (Strabo XVII 1, 27; 46; Hecataeus 73A13a D.-K.; John of Antioch 4,552M; Diod. I 46; 49,5) and Memphis (Hdt. III 37, Strabo X 3,21). These were major centres, only too liable to the rapacious attentions of Persian soldiery though the claim that there is archaeological confirmation in the case of Thebes/Karnak is of uncertain weight (Redford 1986, 328 n.192). We would do well not to assume casually that there was devastation everywhere. The topos about recovery of images looted by the Persians found in fourth and third century Ptolemaic texts (Lorton 1971) is, of course, a reaction to the events of 343 not of 525. What *did* occur (almost) everywhere was an assault upon the finances of temples, which must be the chief single cause of

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[13] Moreover Amélie Kuhrt points out to me that Gunn's description of it as 'cheap and hasty work' (Gunn 1926, 96) is an unjustified slur.

Cambyses' bad reputation in Egypt, a bad reputation his successor was uninterested in seeking to dispel. If Cambyses was an Egyptian pharaoh, he was one who wished to change the relationship of king and temple. One did not *have* to be foreign to think of this: same fourth century pharaohs showed similar aspirations.

But he was also one with military aspirations appropriate to the most energetic of his native predecessors. One should perhaps query the alleged plans for conquest of Carthage. But the Siwah and the Nubian enterprises are real enough. The despatch of an army to the former via Khargeh, Dhakhla, Farafra and Baharia was intended to assert control in areas within the sphere of Saite influence. There are signs of early 6th century activity at Khargeh; and it is in the Saite period that we start to find Egyptians active at Siwah (note especially Amasis' temple at Asharmi and the evidence of Egyptian burial practices). The local ruler of Siwah, pictured in XXVIth dynasty wall decorations, evidently acknowledged Saite power (though Lloyd 1974, 196 avoids the suggestion of Egyptian suzerainty which he is prepared to make for the XVIIIth and XXIInd dynasties) and Cambyses would have been failing in his duty as Amasis' successor had he not sought to extract at least a similar recognition, and he may have aimed at a more substancial subservience — not merely maintaining the Saite realm but extending it. The case of Nubia is arguably similar.

The facts about Nubia *alias* Kush and the Persian empire are as follows.

a) *Persian sources.* Lists of Peoples name Kush in all cases save DB and DPe (the same pattern as Libya and Skudra), which means that rule of (and receipt of tribute from) Kush is not claimed until after the first appearance of India and therefore some half-decade into Darius' reign. Bearing in mind, however, that Libyan recognition of Persian rule is already alleged in Cambyses' time (Hdt. III 13, 3), one is not entirely surprised that greco-roman sources attribute conquests in Nubia to Cambyses. The possibility remains, of course, that Darius made extra gains in both areas and that this is why they begin to appear separately from Egypt in his lists. Claims to hegemony in Nubia are also reflected in the Apadana 'tribute bearer' reliefs, where the offerings include elephant tusks and a giraffe or okapi. It is regrettable that P. Loeb I, which may refer to grain shipments from Nubia (strictly *p3 dw*, literally 'the mountain' or 'the desert'), casts no light on the nature of the relationship.

b) *Herodotus.* (i) Cambyses undertook an expedition against the Makrobioi Ethiopians at the edge of the earth on the southern sea (III 17, 1; 25, 1; 114). He ran short of food and came to halt in a desert barely one fifth of the way there. The Makrobioi are often located at Meroe on the plea that the Table of the Sun = the Sun-Temple of Meroe. But the latter is probably nothing to do with sun cult (cf. Shinnie 1978, 223) or anything like early enough in date

(Burstein 1981, 3). (ii) Later (III 97) Herodotus reveals that, on his way to the Makrobioi, Cambyses subdued the Ethiopians on the borders of Egypt who live around Nysa and hold festivals of Dionysus. Some emend the slightly inconsequential text to produce two groups — those on the borders and those at Nysa. These people, who were required to despatch gifts to the king every third year, are obviously quite distinct from the Makrobioi and will be the same as the Ethiopians 'above Egypt' in Xerxes' army (VII 69). 'Nysa' clearly derives from *t3 nhsj* (i.e. Nubia). (iii) Writing about the upper reaches of the Nile, Herodotus makes it clear that (a) there are Ethiopians at all points south of Elephantine and (b) that one can distinguish Ethiopians at Tachompso (= Djerar), nomadic Ethiopians a little further upstream and 'the other Ethiopians' whose capital is at Meroe, a very great deal further upstream (52 days from the second caract), where Zeus and Dionysus are worshipped and an oracle of Zeus governs political life — defensible descriptions of the independent Kushite kingdom. Moreover Herodotus knows of something *beyond* Meroe, namely the settlement of Egyptian mercenary deserters near Atbara. It is certain from the distances involved that Herodotus' Meroe is *the* Meroe, above the fifth cataract, and not a reference to Napata. (iv) In his account of pharaonic history Herodotus shows knowledge of the Ethiopian (XXVth) dynasty. These Ethiopians cannot be the unwarlike, unimperialist Makrobioi.

c) *Later greco-roman sources* variously assert that Cambyses (a) conquered Ethiopia and introduced the *persea* thence into Egypt (Diod. I 34, 7 — comparison with Strabo XVII 2,2 shows that Meroitic Ethiopia is in question); (b) founded or renamed Meroe (Diod. I 33,1; Strabo XVII 1,5; Joseph. *AJ* II 249; Ampel. 13); (c) was the eponym of Cambysis Forum *alias* Kambysou Tamieion in the area south of the third cataract, W or NW of Napata (Pliny VI 81; Ptolem. IV 7). Describing Roman military activities in Nubia, Strabo also mentions in passing that Cambyses' army was overwhelmed by a sandstorm between Pselchis (Dakkeh) and Premnis (Halfa, by the second cataract); he does not say where Cambyses was going at the time.

d) *Kushite archaeology and texts* have nothing to say directly about Cambyses but do bear upon the location of the Kushite capital, which certainly moved from Napata to Meroe. Briefly, Kushite kings were buried at Napata until the late 4th century, but certainly lived at Meroe by the later fifth century and are attested there from the first quarter of the 6th century. This is consistent with Herodotus' declaration that Meroe was an Ethiopian capital by the mid fifth century, but leaves the situation in 525-522 unclear. It is widely believed that the move had occured before then as a consequence (if not solely and immediately) of Psammetichus II's Nubian campaign (see below). A variant is to locate the move very close to Cambyses' time, thus supposedly explaining his association with the founding/naming of Meroe, while denying that the Persian king actually went that far upstream. Incidentally my brief forays into the modern literature on Kush have not discovered any comment on the fact that a modern settlement near Meroe is called Kabushiya.

Given the general nature of the Cambyses tradition it is unexpected that any source should credit him with successes in Nubia. That both Herodotus and the later tradition should do so is even more striking. There must be some truth in it. The only question is the degree of Cambyses' success and the identification of the region involved.

One hellenistic tradition certainly took him to Meroe. What Herodotus thought is less clear, since the geography of his accounts of Cambyses is different from his geography of the upper Nile. The common assumption is that we can relate them by equating the Makrobioi with Meroe. This is plainly doubtful. What is said about the customs of Meroe (II 29) matches the traditions of the Napata/Meroe kingdom, so far as it goes, whereas the description of the Makrobioi does not, especially when the Table of the Sun identification is rejected, and has obvious utopian elements. Moreover Meroe is on the Nile and Herodotus knows of the Asmach further south, whereas the Makrobioi live on the sea at the edge of the earth. Of course, the very fact that the Cambyses-logos and the Nile-logos represent quite different sources means that the Makrobioi may have been (unknown to Herodotus) somebody's fantasy version of Meroe (that the Table of the Sun cannot be actually identified there does not disprove this). In that case the expedition presumably got no further than the cross-desert route south of the second cataract (though, as a matter of fact, that would only be one fifth of the way to Meroe for someone following the Nile bank the whole way) and Cambyses' achievement was simply to gain a hold on lower Nubia. If we deny the Meroe-Makrobioi equation, on the other hand, Cambyses may have got much further. Those who made up the Makrobioi tale were responding to an actual expedition which went deep into the Sudan by declaring that the madman Cambyses was trying to reach the ends of the earth. The estimate that he only completed one fifth of the journey could be based upon routes going beyond Meroe to the southern end of the Red Sea (e.g. Meroe - Axum - Adulis) — in other words, the land route to the fabulous realm of Punt — and would imply that Cambyses may have got as far as Napata. Lloyd 1975, 55 n. 7 observes that Nubia and Punt were always closely connected in the Egyptian mind, even though attested expeditions to Punt are always maritime. I am inclined to accept this second thesis, and to assume further that later association of Cambyses and Meroe reflects a natural third century interpretation of traditions about Cambyses and the Ethiopian capital, traditions that originally referred to Napata. In this case the desert where Cambyses turned back will be the Bayuda on the direct route from Napata to Meroe.

Operations in Nubia have obvious special resonances in terms of Saite tradition. That dynasty was created by Psammetichus I with the overthrow of the Kushite dynasty (XXV), and Psammetichus II executed a pre-emptive strike against the Nubian king in the form of a major invasion of Kush in 591 BC, sacking Napata and pushing on to the limits of New Kingdom domination in Nubia.[14] This is presumably the Psammetichus who employed Ichthyophagi to explore the sources of the Nile (Clearch. F98 W). The Ethiopian associations of other Saite monarchs are slighter. A fragmentary text of Necho's reign from Elephantine (Müller 1975, 83f.). conveivably refers to shipborne military activity up the Nile. Some mercenaries tried to desert to Nubia from Elephantine in Apries' reign but were foiled (Schäfer 1904). A text of 529/8 seems to refer to (small-scale) military operations south of Elephantine (Erichsen 1941). Plutarch (*Moralia* 151Bf, 152Ef) preserves (? or invents) a wisdom contest between Amasis and the Ethiopian king for the prize of Elephantine. Certainly there was nothing on the scale of Psammetichus II's invasion, and the practical limit of the Saite realm was at best the second cataract. If the argument above is correct, then Cambyses sought to emulate or surpass Psammetichus; and although his troops canot be proved to have reached as far as Psammetichus' and the practical border of Persian Egypt was certainly Elephantine, the extortion of regular gifts from Kush would give Cambyses the right to claim that he had not failed in this ambition. Moreover, given the development of the Ethiopians into 'the' enemy in late period folklore (even in New Kingdom times Nubians are said to be discernibly the objects of Egyptian racial prejudice), the mounting of operations against them should have spoken to the sentiments of the time.

No doubt there were also material motives for both the Siwah and the Nubian enterprises — in fact the same material motives that attracted the Saites and earlier pharaohs (particularly the gold of Kush, most copious in lower Nubia). But it would be wrong to ignore the importance of tradition, and it may be proper to make it the decisive factor.

(iii) *Darius and Egypt.* I start with conditions in 521 and Darius' supposed Egyptian trip of 518-7.

(a) Egypt was one of the lands which rebelled against Darius while he was in Babylon in winter 522/1 (DB §21); it is also the only one of which there is not the slightest trace in the later narrative (by contrast, Assyria may relate to events in Armenia, one battle of which happened in Assyria (Izala); Sattagydia can be linked with Arachosia; and Saka may correspond to the war with Skunkha). It seems to follow that the trouble in Egypt was not successfully put down within the 'one year' of DB; and if it were to be put down by Darius in person, there is no room for this until the fourth year of his reign (since years 2 and 3 are preoccupied with Elam and the Saka). I cannot believe that a rebellion *in Egypt* which lasted from 522/1 to at least 518 and which had to be suppressed by the king in person would be completely unknown to the Herodotean tradition, so the former hyphothesis seems preferable. If Petubastis III belongs in this context (Yoyotte 1972b), the insurrection started early in 521 (since April is in his first regnal year) and was not suppressed (presumably by Aryandes) until at least 520.

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[14] Hdt.II 161; Arkell 1961, 145f; Bakry 1967; Desanges 1978, 221; Habachi 1974; Lloyd 1983, 346; 1988b, 167; Shinnie 1967, 32f; 1978, 217.

(b) Darius had no Horus- or throne-name when the epitaph for the dead Apis bull of year 4 was composed (the cartouche which should have contained the former is present but left empty), though by the time of the Hibis temple inscriptions such names had been created (only the throne name, Setut-Re, actually survives). There had therefore been no Egyptian coronation of Darius by November 518 and we may assume that he had not arrrived on his first visit to Egypt by that date or that, if he had, he did so too soon before November 518 for a coronation to have occurred in the interim.

(c) In his fourth year Darius *sent* an order for the codification of Egyptian laws to his satrap (Spiegelberg 1914, 30f.). There is no hint that he was simply ordering the satrap to assemble interested parties in readiness for his imminent arrival; indeed the source does not appear to recognize *any* visit specifically connected with the project, though we might choose to infer one from Diodorus' somewhat garbled account (see below). At least one other traditionalist instruction was issued by the king outside Egypt, viz. the despatch of Udjahorresnet from Elam to Egypt to restore the House of Life at Sais. It is tempting to associate the two both substantially and chronologically.[15] Both may presuppose an era of trouble calling for gestures of a new approach to rule over Egypt; but both also presuppose that no major rebellion was in progress. This will fit the conclusion in (a) above, and provide a *terminus ante quem* for the end of Petubastis' revolt.

(d) Polyaenus VII 11,7 has Darius visit Egypt during the mourning for an Apis bull and while the Egyptians are protesting against Aryandes' *omotes*. He quells the unrest by offering a reward for the discovery of the new Apis. This tale could fit into the context of August-November 518 BC; in fact, thus placed, it would have Darius arrive in Egypt at the earliest moment allowed by the other evidence. And what the *Demotic Chronicle* verso says about the law code probably need not preclude a visit decided upon after the letter to Aryandes, perhaps in the light of a worsening situation in the satrapy. Nonetheless the association, though neat, is not mandatory. I do not see much value (*pace* Cook 1983) in simply denying the historicity of Polyaenus' story, but I do think one should recognize the possibility of a visit associated with the death of a different Apis bull from that of 518. It is possible that we have evidence for the induction of a new Apis on 13/viii/Darius 17 (July 505 B.C.) implying the death of a previous one in 506 (cf. Apis statuette text in Schott 1967, 87 ff.). The only other rational dating for this evidence would be Xerxes year 17, and Schott's preference for this date turns on identification of *P3 srs*, father of the statuette's dedicator, with the Persian Attiyawahy; the conclusion is chronologically fair (though not absolutely inevitable), but the identification is clearly not certain. What is virtually certain is that, whatever the date of Schott's statuette, there was a new Apis between year 4 and year 34 (when a bull died on 2/iv) — for this 30 year gap is substantially longer than the highest attested age for an Apis (26 years).[16] Since Aryandes may have survived into the 490s (Pherendates is not attested until March 492 BC), it is entirely possible that Polyaenus refers to a visit well after the 4th year, a visit which could be the context for Aryandes' execution (post-513); for Polyaenus is silent about Aryandes' fate since it is not pertinent to the success of the stratagem and does not preclude his execution (he would be implying a different, though doubtless consistent, version of why Aryandes was executed from that in Herodotus), and Herodotus neither requires nor disproves Darius' presence in Egypt when Aryandes met his end,[17]

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[15] cf. Reich 1933; Posener 1936, 175; Blenkinsopp 1987, 412.

(e) One further Greek text bears upon Darius' visit(s) to Egypt. Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1393B imagines an orator, intent on Persian attempts to reconquer Egypt, making the point that both Darius and Xerxes attacked Greece after they had gained possession of Egypt, Xerxes campaigned in person against Egypt in the mid 480s (Hdt. VII 1). What about Darius? Is Aristotle referring to the rebellion of DB §21? Or to the Polyaenus context? Does he necessarily imply that Darius was in Egypt in person? And what, for the purposes of argument, counted as Darius' attack on Greece — 492 and 490 BC, or the first incursions in European Greece in c.513? The uncertainties are, I fear, too numerous to make the text any help.

In sum, greco-roman sources need not be taken to provide evidence for more than one visit by Darius to Egypt (neither Diodorus I 95,4-5 nor Herodotus II 110 = Diodorus I 58 (post Scythian expedition) need be a separate occasion, if they are occasions at all) and the date of that one visit is uncertain. We have already seen that it is a moot point whether the non-Greek sources *require* a visit in connection with the canal. But, for the sake of argument, one could propose a scenario in which Darius issued an order for the canal in his fourth year and eventually visited Egypt when it was completed, this visit coinciding with the death of the 'missing' Apis and the execution of Aryandes. I do not think that such a scenario can be said to be inconsistent with any of the evidence. One might even speculate that Aryandes' *omotes* had something to do with labour-requisitions in connection with the canal and that, even if Darius' motives for building the canal and his general attitude to Egypt were laudable, the project never shook off unpleasant associations, thus accounting for apparent later hostility to it (cf. above p. 238)

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[16] Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter 1968, 21f; Kitchen 1983, 62; 1986, 156, 489, 548f.

[17] On the numismatic component to this story see Tuplin 1989.

I turn to the general nature of Darius' rule in Egypt. This is not wholly without what might be regarded by an Egyptian as negative aspects. We have already observed that the royal statue intended for Heliopolis would have made a clear visual statement of foreign rule, one comparable with the associated cuneiform texts. The story of the Ptah priest' resistance to a statue in Memphis (Hdt. II 110, Diod I 58) reflects this no doubt; I wish one could be sure whether Darius really acquiesced in their resistance. At a more modest level one might also compare the encouragement given to pro-Persian Egyptian dignitaries to signal their attitude and status by wearing Achaemenid jewelry,[18] though not (it now seems) specifically Persian clothing (cf. Bresciani 1967; Leahy 1984). Again, despite the presumed repeal of Cambyses' provisions, private temple donations dried up after dynasty XXVI, suggesting some lasting interference in temple finances; and the office of Divine Worshipper of Amun at Thebes — one of some significance in the history of the Saite dynasty — also disappears for good with the coming of the Persians, the casualty perhaps of a decline in the real significance of Thebes so pronounced that even the nationalistic kings of the 4th century never saw fit to revive the post. Darius did not aim to return everything to its pre-525 *status quo*.

Nonetheless Darius generally played the role of the traditional pharaoh. Note: (i) building activities in the Khargeh oasis, El Kab and Busiris;[19] (ii) restoration of House of Life at Sais (Posener 1936, no. 1 *ad fin.*); (iii) benefactions at Edfu in years 15 and 18;[20] (iv) offer of reward for location of new Apis (Polyaenus VII 11,7) and (after the precedent of Amasis and Cambyses) of a stone sarcophagus for the dead Apis of year 4 (Posener 1936, no. 5).

The codification of Egyptian law up to Amasis' final year has already been mentioned. Diodorus puts this in a context of Darius' general respect for Egyptian tradition (see further below). One may feel that the stele of a private individual worshipping Darius as Horus (Burchardt 1911, no. 2) is valuable testimony for his being favourably viewed; and the signs which appear later of the Egyptianization of some Persian officials could be construed as indirect evidence for the attitude encouraged as early as Darius' time. If there *had* been an orchestrated damnation of Amasis, it cannot be proved to have lasted: the law of Amasis' reign went into the law-code; Udjahorresnet does not feel restrained from mentioning his high office during that reign (Posener 1936, no. 1, 1ff.); private individuals bearing Amasis' name sometimes had it put in a royal cartouche[21] and Saite names in general become popular (even that of Necho, avoided in late XXVIth dynasty: cf. Donadoni 1983, 39, Bothmer 1960, 81); the cult of Amasis' statue is attested in the mid fifth century (Berlin 14765 = Erman 1900, 119 = Bosse 1936, no. 91). Some of these phenomena have, of course, been cited as signs of the Egyptian spirit of resistance, but I do not see how we can be sure that they are not rather signs of a continuity favoured by the imperial power. Both views may, of course, have been held by different people.

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[18] Ptah-Hotep (Cooney 1954; Bothmer 1960, no.64), Udjahorresnet (Botti & Romanelli 1951, 33), anonymous (Amandry 1958, 16).

[19] Khargeh: Winlock 1941 (Hibis temple), Lloyd 1983, 294 (Kasr el Ghoueida); el Kab; Posener 1936, 179 n.3; Clarke 1922, 27; Meulenaere 1975; Porter & Moss 1927/51, V 173. Busiris, Naville 1887, 27f.; Beckerath 1975; Porter & Moss 1927/51, IV 44.

[20] Chassinat 1932, 219, 248; Olmstead 1949; and cf. Meeks 1972, 153; 1977, 653 for general royal donations.

Atkinson 1956 claimed that Darius departed from Cambyses' precedent in regnal year calculation, abandoning pure Egyptian practice for an Egypto-Persian hybrid. But the argument is unconvincing. It arises as an explanation of the apparently coexistent Apis bulls between 29/v/Cambyses 5 and I/ix/Cambyses 6; but the claim that the problem is caused by the two dates being based on different ways of counting regnal years fails because the arithmetic does not add up; we are still left with one bull being born on 22 August 525 and the other not dying until 31 August 525. Moreover the age of the bull who was born on 29/v/Cambyses 5 and died in Darius' fourth year (8 year, 3 months, 5 days) makes sense of the terminal dates without any change of counting method (the 8 years are Camb. 6-8, Darius Acc.-4). The departure from tradition therefore started with Cambyses, whose arrival as new pharaoh of Egypt when already in his (nominal) fifth year as king of Persia caused the problem. The solution reached in the course of 525 was to count his 5th year in Egypt from the next New Year's Day after Amasis' death, i.e. c. January 1, 525 BC. That kept the regnal years numerically the same in Egypt and Persia for as much of the year as possible, without abandoning Thoth 1 for Nisan 1 as New Year's Day. It was the maximum concession to Egyptian tradition consistent with convenience, and Darius maintained it.

Not that Darius strove to defend the memory of Cambyses. He had his own reasons for denigrating him (consider the whole dubitable Gaumata tale, told in DB in a version actually more improbable than Herodotus' one, and the overtones of criticism in 'Cambyses died his own death'). So far as Egypt is concerned, the codification of law overturned much of Cambyses' model for the financial administration of the satrapy. It is interesting to note the form in which the law-code turns up in Diodorus, Diodorus knows of Darius as the sixth *nomothetes* of Egypt, but he does not actually assert that he wrote any laws; the burden of his account is rather that Darius rejected Cambyses' *paranomia* towards sanctuaries with Egyptian priests, studied *theologia* and the deeds in the sacred books, and endeavoured to live a moderate and god-loving life. It is thus clear what sort of interpretation was put upon Darius' *nomothesia*, and Darius himself may have made it explicit. It is certainly apparent from the slightly sharp tone in parts of Udjahorresnet's inscription (written in Darius' reign) and from AP 30 (written a century later) that criticism of Cambyses was not disallowed. For those who see significance in the omission of 'pharaoh' in P. Rylands IX (above p. 269), the same conclusion will follow there too. I also wonder whether the cuneiform canal and statue texts do not reflect an inclination to claim that Darius was the 'real' conqueror of Egypt — Cambyses being simply forgotten. The brief native interlude of Petubastis III would help to justify this, irrespctive of whether Darius acted in person to terminate it. It is certainly to be noted that, whereas Cambyses failed to conquer Siwah, somebody did so later on (to judge from Dinon 690 F23), and this might have been Darius. It was certainly under Darius that Kush and Libya began belatedly to appear in the Lists of Peoples. Even if this signifies no substantial change in their status, the change may at least cast light upon Darius' attitude to his African possessions; the successful establishment of a claim over areas that had already required action from the Saites (Psammetichus I fought the Libyans in the western delta, and Apries invaded Libya to attack Cyrene; on Kush see above) was something to be advertised not simply subsumed under 'Egypt'. In this context it is perhaps of interest that Darius apparently adopted the same Horus-name, *Mnh-jb*, as Psammetichus II, the Saite invader of Nubia (Beckerath 1984, 112, 113; Godron 1986, 294). Of course, if Herodotus is to be believed, the degree of control over Libyans outside the western delta was not great. Notice incidentally that Petubastis III had taken a royal name of the XXIInd (Libyan) dynasty. Moreover, whereas we do not know whether Amasis' marriage connection and military alliance with Cyrene[22] connoted Egyptian domination and do not have to assume that it did, Cambyses certainly claimed suzerainty and tribute; and Darius maintained this claim. Herodotus' failure to make this explicit merely reflects the evasiveness of his Cyrenean sources.

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[21] Bothmer 1960, no.57 = Brooklyn 59,77; Athens 107; Brooklyn 16.580.150; Cairo JE 43240; Posener 1936, 13 etc.

When Darius tried to put his statue in the Memphite temple of Ptah, Herodotus was told, the priests dissuaded him by pointing out that he had not (yet) equalled the achievements of Sesostris. True or not, this story (and perhaps much of the development of the Sesostris myth) reveals the attitude of mind an Achaemenid had to contend with and attempt to exploit. Against this whole background, it will be clear that to embark upon the attempt to repeat or improve upon Necho's plan for a Nile-Suez canal — and to do so at least in part precisely *because* Necho had done it, and done it with ideas of military conquest in mind — was absolutely in line with certain general tendencies of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. It would be even more perfectly so if we accepted Pliny's report of a place in the canal zone called Cambysu (VI 165) and deduced that the conqueror had already thought of such a thing. I am tempted to say that in those circumstances Darius would have had no choice at all but to follow suit. Perhaps this is to gild the lily, and Pliny does describe Cambysu simply as a settlement of wounded soldiers. All the same I am convinced that the attractions of being seen to follow precedent deserve at least as much stress in the explanation of the canal venture as the considerations of commercial advantage or integration of the empire's communication systems which bulk incomparably larger in most modern statements on the topic. It remains to inspect these considerations in their own right — with, perhaps, a prejudice in favour of versions which privilege Egyptian precedent.

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[22] Hdt II 181 (*philotes te kai summakhia*); Edel 1978; Lloyd 1988b, 178; Leahy 1988, 192.

2. *Sea Communications*

The point of a Nile-Suez canal is to facilitate contact by ship between (a) the Mediterranean or the Nile Valley (especially Lower Egypt) or both and (b) the Red Sea and points east — more specifically, one or more of the northeast African coast, (south) Arabia, the Persian gulf and India. There is no serious reason to believe in regular direct communication between Egypt and India at this date (i.e. contact in which individual ships made the whole trip). As we have seen (above p. 242), Scylax' trip need not be seen as forging a specific practical link between the canal and India. He was rather engaged in determining the relationship between two extremities of the empire and (implicitly) the relationship of each of them to the centre (i.e. the Persian gulf). The fact (if it is a fact) that he did not sail around the gulf itself does not contradict this last point. The Persians will have been aware of the existence of maritime communications between the gulf and 'India'; what Darius wanted to know was (i) how exactly this 'India' related to Gandara (which he already knew as a subject land) and to the lower reaches of the Indus (which he was thinking of conquering) and (ii) how the seaways which linked him to the lower Indus stood in relation to the other end of his empire. To put it in the terminology of the cuneiform canal texts, he wished to know how each of the Indus and the Nile (the only two rivers with crocodiles, it was said) stood in relation to 'the sea which goes to Persia'. Having discovered that the Indus flowed into it but the Nile did not, he may very well have been incited by that very lack of symmetry to emulate Necho and set nature to rights. On the other hand he may have decided upon the canal before Scylax' voyage. In any case it does not follow that he was interested in regular contact between the Nile and the Indus, and the fact that Herodotus declares, with tantalizing vagueness, that after Scylax' trip Darius 'made use of the southern sea' does not prove that he was.[23] So far as the canal is concerned, therefore, our investigation need only touch upon northeast Africa, southern Arabia as far as the incense-bearing regions and the Persian gulf. The first two were, of course, in 'local' contact with India and Indian commodities such as cinnamon (Hdt. III 111, Theophr. *HP* IX 4, 2, Strabo XVI 4, 4; 4, 14; 4, 19; Diod. III 46, 3) were available there along with native products for movement on to the west. What we would like to know is how much actual or feasible movement there was between Egypt and any of these destinations of a sort which would be made more convenient or advantageous for Persia or Egypt by the construction of a canal.

Classical sources knew something of sailing in the Red Sea. Herodotus II 11 gave its dimensions in sailing times (40 days end to end, half a day across), Hecataeus 1 F271 mentioned Kamaran Island and Ephorus 70 F172 the *Columnae Insulae* in the Bab al Mandab near Aden. References to Eudaimon Arabia in Euripides *Bacchae* 16f., Aristophanes *Birds* 144 and Ctesias 688 F71 (of doubtful authenticity according to Jacoby) are, on the other hand, rather vague. All of this *could* simply reflect information from Scylax, rather than awareness of regular traffic in the Red Sea. Herodotus betrays no idea in III 107f. that incense-bearing Arabia was approachable by sea. On the contrary his apparent confusion in II 8 of the Arabian mountains east of the Nile valley with the mountain-ranges adjacent to the incense route through Saudi Arabia and Yemen shows that his informants led him to believe that it was reached by land.

All discussion of Red Sea traffic has to bear in mind the alleged difficulties of sailing in the region. Put simply, north of the Jeddah-Suak in line the prevailing wind is almost always north-northwest, apparently severely inhibiting northward journeys. On the other hand, various periods of antiquity saw a good deal of maritime communication between the Nile valley and the east via ports on the African coast *north* of this line (e.g. Koseir). There may even be specifically Achaemenid evidence in the shape of rock inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat naming Persian officials and a cartouche of Darius (Posener 1936, 35) on another route to the sea. I am less sure about the view expressed from time to time (cf. recently Katzenstein 1989, 80) that we can infer regular use of these routes and of the onward maritime connection with the Persian gulf from the alleged immunity of Achaemenid Upper Egypt from the effects of revolts in the Delta. So the pattern of winds is not the end of the matter. On the other hand again, the fact that Koseir and the like were of significance even in the Ptolemaic period, when there was a Nile-Suez canal, may show that it was sailing in the gulf of Suez which was the real problem.

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[23] Salles 1988, 83f.; 85f. after some hesitation concludes that Scylax actually only sailed from India to the Persian Gulf; the idea that he did the whole trip, India-S.Arabia-Suez was a Greek misapprehension caused by confusing Scylax' voyage with separate, new information about the Red Sea which reached the Greek world in the same era. But this does not deal with Darius' own statement about ships going from the canal to Persia (as Salles 86 n. 33 admits) and the argument places far too much weight upon the lack of attested references to anywhere between Oman and Aden in e.g. the fragments of Hecataeus — a silence from which it is scarcely safe to infer anything.

So far as northeast Africa is concerned, one naturally thinks of Punt as a possible destination for shipping from Egypt (cf. Kitchen 1971). The bulk of the evidence for this is, of course, much earlier (early 15th — early 12th centuries). But the Daphnae stele speaks of a miraculous rain storm in the mountains of Punt causing the Nile to rise and (somehow) saving certain soldiers of Psammetichus I (Lloyd 1975, 54-5), which does not *prove* a Saite expedition there but is at least a welcome sign of continued knowledge of the place, and some Egyptologists are inclined to think of Punt as the most likely background for Necho's interest in access to the Red Sea (cf. Lloyd 1977; O'Connor 1982, 901). I have already argued that the tale of Cambyses and the Makrobioi provides additional indirect confirmation for Late Period interest in the region. Of course, it was not necessary to have a Suez canal to mount maritime expeditions to Punt; there is absolutely no reason to postulate one in the great days of such expeditions.

If any attempts *were* made in the Late Period to get at Punt, it seems likely that what the Egyptians would have found there were, among other things, Sabaean colonies (cf. Drewes 1987), and that, in default of direct access, the produce (especially the incense) of Punt would have been travelling to the Levant and Mesopotamia via the Arabian peninsula and in the hands of the same people who exploited the trade in south Arabian incense — and presumably largely by the same routes. How might the construction of a canal into lower Egypt affect *this* trade?

Everyone agrees that in pre-hellenistic (indeed pre-Roman) times the incense of south Arabia went north, whether to Egypt,[24] south Palestine, Syria or Mesopotamia, predominantly by land routes. Mesopotamia could be approached either entirely by land, or by land to Gerrha and thence up the gulf. So far as Egypt/Palestine is concerned, of course, it is strictly speaking only the evidence from points south of Eilat which proves use of land-routes. Anything to the north, whether scraps of south Arabian script (Graf 1983, 558; Shiloh 1987) or references to Minaeans travelling in Edom, Syria and

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[24] Interesting indirect signs of Achaemenid period Egyptian connections with an Arab town on the land route, viz. Tayma, are afforded by (a) the priest ṢLM ŠZB, *son of Petosiris* in KAI 228, and (b) the images of the Apis bull on an altar from the site (Dalley 1986, 85f). On the incense trade in general see recently Müller 1987.

Egypt (Graf 1983, 563) or evidence for the great wealth of Gaza or the Nabataeans of Petra *could* be in part due to material coming up the Red Sea and the gulf of Aqaba. And although south Arabians at Tell Kheleifeh (near Eilat) might have been on their way by land to Egypt by the later pilgrim route to Mecca (they would hardly be going to Gaza, for which Eilat would be an unnecessary diversion from the Tabuk-Ma'an-Gaza line), it is perhaps most economical to regard them as shipborne (Graf 1990, 137). The reverse phenomenon, northerners making for south Arabia by sea via the gulf of Aqaba, is certainly attested for the time of Solomon and Jehoshophat (I Kings IX 16, 28; X 11, 22; XXII 49; II Chron. XXVI 2; Jos. *AJ* VIII 163; Delbrück 1955-6, 11) and (implicitly) later on by the mere existence of the Tell Kheleifeh site (not to mention the doubtless phoney Phoenician mariners of the Paraiba inscription (Gordon 1968, 1972; Cross 1968, 1979), who supposedly ended up in Brazil). All the same it is difficult to know how much weight to give to this evidence; one cannot help feeling that Herodotus' ignorance of maritime contact with south Arabia (above) and the overwhelming stress on land routes even in Strabo's sources preclude any significant volume of seaborne trade. The fact that the Sabaeans evidently operated across the Red Sea proves nothing, naturally. It is unlikely, therefore, that we ought to see the opening of a Suez canals as a means of facilitating south Arabian traders' access to Egypt.

The opposite possibility, that it signals a desire on the part of the Achaemenids for improved and more substantial direct access by Egyptian traders to south Arabia, should also be examined with scepticism. Such a policy has, of course, sometimes been attributed to the Ptolemies, who are thought to have wished to cut the Nabataeans out of the profits of south Arabian trade, diverting the latter to Egypt. But the Ptolemaic kings and the Achaemenids were in quite different positions, the former seeking to increase the prosperity of an independent Egyptian kingdom, the latter to maintain an empire which included both Egypt and the whole near east. It was important for Darius and his successors to maintain reasonably good relations with the Arab populations of the Palestine/Egypt borders, for the sake of secure access to Egypt. It is true that the absolute dependence on Arab goodwill stressed by Herodotus in connection with the initial conquest of Egypt (for which there are close parallels in neo-Assyrian contexts)[25] may have been slightly tempered by establishment of Persian administrative and military control over the highway into Egypt (Hdt. III 7 suggests as much, speaking of the maintenance of water-supply as a responsibility devolving upon authorities in Memphis; Na'aman 1979, 79f. suggests that the frontier of Egypt and Palestine was actually shifted in this context). All the same it remained a very

[25] cf. Hdt. II 141; ANET 282, 286, 292f; Na'aman 1978, 85; Eph'al 1982, 138.

exposed imperial artery, and the presence of Qedarite Arabs at Tell Maskhutah in the late fifth century, whether as Persian-employed garrison troops or not, illustrates this very clearly. To interpret the Suez canal as a determined effort to alter trading patterns between Egypt and south Arabia is to attribute to Darius a politically and strategically dangerous policy. It would also be one that had knock-on effects further south. The dominant groups of south Arabia, especially Sabaeans and Minaeans, were themselves middle-men in the incense trade, since the actual incense originated much further east. Are we to suppose that Darius had in mind to cut them out as well? That would have required a major investment of effort to ensure that trading ships from Egypt could pass back and forth to the incense coast itself despite the waterless and inhospitable shores to the north east of Aden (the point at which Anaxicrates' exploratory mission in 324 BC came to a stop)[26] and to provide them with ports-of-call on the northeast African coast — where, of course, there were also Sabaeans. I cannot see that any of this was worth the trouble, so long as the northwestern Arabs were prepared to go on allowing the Persian king to take his cut in the form of large 'gifts' as described by Herodotus. Could he really have expected to make a great deal more in the form of additional tribute revenue from an Egyptian satrapy rendered more prosperous by increased incense trade? In practical terms, the traders on the incense route had nowhere really profitable to take their wares where the Achaemenids were not well placed to benefit indirectly anyway. Why upset a system satisfactory to all parties? It should be noted, in addition, that even the Ptolemies' decided interest in 'developing' the Red Sea does not seem to have succeeded in wrenching the incense trade away from the land route (Rostovtzeff 1941, I, 386f.; Fraser 1972, I, 177, 180) and was anyway much more concerned with getting at elephants in northeast Africa (van 't Dak & Hauben 1978, 64) — the Hellenistic equivalent, one might say, to the second millenium's obsession with the wealth of Punt. So long as we are considering the canal in relation to the Red Sea/Arabia sector, therefore, I doubt whether the invocation of *trade* alone is very helpful.

An intention to wage war would actually seem to answer the circumstances better. The Achaemenids did not, of course, conquer Arabia. The evidence of Lists of Peoples and of Herodotus does not *require* us to assume that they claimed a hold over any Arabs but those of the Palestine/Egypt marches. The deduction in Graf (1990) from *hgr* in the hieroglyphic lists that the Arabs of Persian Royal Inscriptions belong in the Persian gulf is not compelling. The attested 'governors' of Tayma and of Dedan are not signs of Achaemenid administration. And there must surely be some other explanation of the 'land of Persia' in Ptolemy II's Pithom stele than the one proposed by Tarn and apparently countenanced by Fraser (1972 II, 301), that the coast of the Hejaz had once been under Persian rule (cf. Lorton 1971). But it is not, I suppose, absolutely out of the question that Darius gave some consideration to the military subjugation of Arabia — a sort of maritime equivalent of Nabonidus' attempt to squeeze the incense trade dry by occupying the oases of northeast Arabia — until (perhaps) receipt of Scylax' report and a realization of the difficulties involved or the appearance of distractions in the Aegean world put him off the idea. The chronological implications of these two scenarios are, of course, different; but neither is precluded by the direct evidence. Alternatively one could think in terms of expeditions to Punt in the time-honoured tradition — military in form (both for reasons of prestige and to afford protection from pirates), but not necessarily aimed at outright conquest and occurring only occasionally (hence the canal, to allow for temporary transfer of warships?). That such quasi-military enterprises were still familiar in Achaemenid Egypt is suggested, as Lloyd has noted, by the prominence of the military man, Khnemibre, in the Wadi Hammamat quarries; and in the case of Punt it would have the merit of avoiding the danger of upsetting the Sabaeans and threatening stability in Arabia.

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[26] Strabo XVI 4,4; Arr. *Ind.* 43,7; Theophr. *HP* IV 7,2; IX 4,1f; Plin, *NH* XII 62. Cf. Arr. *Ind.* 32,7, and the claim in 4,2 that, if *anybody* had done the Gulf-Egypt trip, they had done it *pelagioi.*

The Persians were hardly ignorant of the existence of the Persian Gulf or totally disinterested in its use, especially with a capital at Susa — indeed the privileged position of the old Elamite centre positively argues an Achaemenid interest in the gulf, for all that some Alexander sources claim that there was no proper river connection between Susa and the sea. There are other indications: the road from Persepolis to the gulf was in use, to judge from the early palace at Borazjan, the palace at Taoke (Arr. *Ind.* 39, 5), the gardens of Bushehir (*ibid.* 39, 2) and its canals (Salles 1990), and (perhaps) the settlement of Greeks at Ionaka (Ptolem. VI 4,2; Schiwek 1962, 80). At the head of the gulf deported Milesians were settled at Ampe (Hdt. VI 20), variously identified with Arrian's Aginis (*Ind.* 42, 4), the trading 'village' mentioned in Nearchus 133 F25 and Polyclitus 128 F6, Pliny's Durine (*NH* VI 138) = Alexandria in Susiana and Dur Iakin. That there were Carians too, however, is a thoroughly irresponsible conjecture, based on misuse of both Greek and Akkadian texts; the only Achaemenid period evidence for Carians in Mesopotamia firmly associates them with Nippur (Zadok 1978, 291) and Sittakene (Diod. VII 110). On Failaka the pre-hellenistic sanctuary at Tell Khazneh yields 6th-4th century material comparable with that from southern Mesopotamia and even an Aramaic text containing an Iranian personal name (Salles 1985, 588; 1987, 85). Further south there is Achaemenid period occupation at City IV on Bahrain, while at the other end of the gulf the Persians maintained a claim to Maka (both sides of the straits of Hormuz: Eilers 1983; Potts 1986) in all the Lists of Peoples. There were also the Anaspastoi islands, a place for exiles (Hdt. III 93, 2; VII 80; Ctesias 688 F14(43)), but also a source of Iranian troops (Hdt. *loc.cit.*) and in 325 governed by a hyparch who could guide Nearchus' ships to the Elamite coast. There is textual evidence for trade in the gulf in the late Achaemenid period (Maketa-'Assyria': *Ind.* 32.1; Gerrha or Arabia to the rivermouths: Nearchus 133 F25, Arr. *Ind.* 41,8, Strabo XVI 3,3), and the wood of Makan mentioned in DSaa will surely have come by sea — though it may have originated in India (cf. Schiwek 1962, 5, 67f on Babylonian references to Magan wood). More generally there seems no good reason why the history of interest in the gulf in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods should *not* have a counterpart in the Achaemenid era. 'The prosperity of the gulf in the neo-Assyrian, neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods is plain' (Salles 1987, 89). Yet it must also be admitted that Nearchus' account creates the impression that in 325 the Persian shore was not highly developed south of Bushehir, though the hyparch of Oaracta was able to guide him along that route despite the complaints about lack of native guides, and, if the reason is that the opposite (Arabian) shore had always been the more frequented one, it must be further noticed that (unless Graf's thesis is correct) the Achaemenids never sought to claim control of any part of that shore and the investigations of it ordered by Alexander and carried out by Archias, Androsthenes and Hieron 'furent de véritables explorations de terres vierges' (Salles 1988, 88).

So far as contact with the world outside the gulf is concerned, we have a choice between India and the incense coast/Red Sea sector discussed above. It is not easy to prove regular maritime contacts with either.

On the eastern run, Nearchus found a bad patch between the Indus and Mostarna (cf. Schiwek 1962, 51-60). Yet the close ethnic similarity between Indians and Maka-people evident in Achaemenid iconography must argue for regular contacts. The same inference has been drawn from the unusual juxtaposition of India and Maka in the canal stelae and Susa statue Lists of people, but I am not sure that it is primarily an implicit statement about searoutes, any more than that Libya-Kush-Maka-Caria in DNa = A?P is supposed to reflect a sea-route. Admittedly, the canal stelae/Susa statue lists are also unusual in that Maka-India is immediately preceded by *Egypt*-Libya-Kush, so they may be a special case — though I would be unhappy at the implied conclusion that Egypt-India is a regular route. We have already mentioned putatively Indian wood coming via Makan, and Androsthenes arguably saw Indian teak in Bahrein in 324/3 (Theophr. *HP* IV 7,7f., Schiwek 1962, 68, Delbrück 1955/6, 24). On the other hand we cannot prove that Indian ivory in Susa (DSf, DSz) or Indian peacocks (Eggermont 1984, 74f), dogs (Hdt. I, 192), elephants, tigers and narcotics (Ctesias *ap.* Aelian IV 21; 41; XII 79) and settlers (BE 9, 75; 10, 8) in Babylonia had come by sea. Wood from Gandara and Carmania (DSf, DSz) very probably had not, Indian tributary gold is actually associated with Caspatyrus in Gandara, and Vogelsang's argument for the existence of a regular India-Fars route via Baluchistan or the sea (1985, 82f.; 1990, 101) is not impregnable. The argument is that non-royal travel authorizations in connection with Arachosia, Barrikana and Gandara are issued by Ziššawiš, Bakabaduš and Bakabana, whereas those for India come from Parnaka, Irdubama and Karkiš. But Ziššawiš, Bakabana and Parnaka are not to be personally located east of Fars; and Karkiš, who might be, is associated with Carmania, which should lie on both of the land routes in question. The amount of material is simply not large enough to sustain any conclusion.

Looking in the other direction we have a similar series of imponderable 'proofs' of maritime contact to set alongside the undoubted voyage of Scylax and of the ships mentioned in the canal stelae, viz. Persians putatively on their way through Wadi Hammamat to the sea and Persia (Posener 1936, 179f), and a Heliopolitan statue, Aswan granite (Ghirshman 1964, 142), Kushite ivory, gold and (?) giraffes (DSf, DSz, Tribute Bearers xxiii, Hdt. III 97) all on their way to Susa or Persepolis. Mazzarino's attempt (1966, 76f) to prove that the Egyptian materials in DSf came by sea is ingenious, but not cogent. Schiwek 1962, 76 sought to deduce regular Achaemenid contacts on the gulf-incense coast route from the temporary presence of Mithropaustes on Ogyris (= Masirah Island), off southwest Oman (Arr. *Ind.* 37), but it seems to me that Mithropaustes' movements may as well indicate that Masirah was, in terms of official Achaemenid surveillance, rather *off* the beaten track. Of course, they show that *somebody's* ships were sailing south from the straits of Hormuz round the tip of Oman; and the Persians had had more pressing things to worry about during some or all of the time Mithropaustes was in exile. In fact the situation is a good deal worse than with the India-Persian gulf route. The distance between the Maka and the lower Indus (both certainly areas claimed as subject to Persia) was not huge; the areas were ethnically part of the same world; and there is at least *some* evidence for regular trade between the two. Moreover, Herodotus' explicit statement about Darius' regular use of the southern sea is most closely attached to the conquest of India (so that we can legitimately believe the historian's sources to have been principally speaking of communication between Persia and India). To the west things are different. The 'produce of Arabia' being moved within the Persian Gulf in the 320s (above) *might* have arrived there by sea from the incense coast, though it is by no means impossible that it had actually come by land via south Arabia to Gerrha. But for regular trade from the Red Sea/Egypt, as opposed to movement of tribute or gifts (which is also what the ships of the canal stelae are said to have contained), there is certainly no evidence; and one only has to contemplate a map briefly to see why: for any reasonably portable commodity, the Red Sea-Indian Ocean-

Persian gulf trip was an absurdly large detour as a means of getting from Egypt to Mesopotamia, Elam or Fars, and one which the ordinary traders of the period would hardly be likely to make, given the existence of long-established land routes — especially since (it is generally supposed) the unified politico-military control represented by the Achaemenid empire would tend to make those existing routes safer.[27]

Once again, therefore, as with the Red Sea/incense coast sector, to invoke trade and a putative Achaemenid desire to encourage it when considering the Suez canal seems misguided. We thus reach the conclusion that the nearest thing the oriental sources offer, albeit implicitly, to an explanation of the canal — viz. maritime communication with Persia — can only be accepted with strict qualifications. The symbolism of Persian power over Egypt which I suggested was implicit in the cuneiform canal text turns out not to be just a literary fact. And I should be sceptical about much even of what the imperial power requisitioned from Egypt and Kush actually travelling to the coffers of Susa by the arduous route round Arabia.

3. *Impulses of imperialsm*

There are, of course, more general issues involved in all of this about the reasons which impelled the Achaemenids to maintain and seek to extend their *Weltreich*. Is it after all reasonable *a priori* to imagine that any particular initiative of Persian imperal administration, such as (re)building a Nile-Suez canal, should be seen in terms of a desire to augment long-distance commercial exchange of commodities?

Greek spectators of the empire tended resolutely to see Persian initiatives in terms of 'political' explanations, be they specific ones of self-defence or revenge or opportunism or more general ones along the lines of an inevitable tendency of those who have power to seek more (what Thucydides formulated pithily in the Melian dialogue was not a principle previously unperceived). Moreover, their willingness to see the eventual assault upon mainland Greece as just a step towards the conquest of Europe (which is just one aspect of the 'will to power' thesis) need not be regarded as a simple example of Greek self-esteem (*après nous le déluge* or at least *l'Europe*). Since the Achaemenids, in common with their imperial predecessors, pictured themselves as rulers of the world and did so, according to Herrenschmidt's beguiling thesis (Herrenschmidt 1976, 1977, 1980) by way of a very particular identification of 'earth' and 'empire', it was not particularly unreasonable to attribute ecumenical ambitions to them. People who style themselves world rulers will always be liable to a desire to make the reality correspond as much as possible to the style. Neo-Assyrian kings, for example, ruled as agents of a god whose principal injunction to them, enshrined in the coronation ceremony and reflected in the formulation of historical texts, was to enlarge the frontiers of the realm, and were always keen to note their conquest of places unknown to their forefathers. New Kingdom pharaohs went so far as to claim rule over peoples explicitly described as too distant actually to know or be known to the Egyptians! The corpus of Old Persian inscriptions lacks, it is true, statements of comparable explicitness. The image of empire is perhaps more static, with a stress on what already exists; the imperial iconography can readily be seen in these terms, the figures of the tomb facade show that 'the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far ... a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Peria', and the king's virtues in DNb only explicitly constitute an ideology of aggressive imperialism if 'rebellion' and 'the Lie' can apply to people not already subject to Persia. In this context it is a question of some importance whether the Scythians of DB V who, unlike the Elamites, are not called 'rebellious' but, like the Elamites, are said to be faithless and not worshippers of Ahuramazda, are the Scythian rebels of DB §21 or a group being newly added to the empire. All the same, the inference which Herodotus drew from the steady growth of the empire and put in the mouth of Xerxes, that there was a *nomos* of conquest, is not to be despised, and the interest in exploring beyond the edges of the empire (Scylax, Democedes, Sataspes) is a legitimate sign of Darius' broad horizons. Moreover, even the Assyrians, with their general quasi-religious principle of expansion, normally treat any particular gain as the result of provocation rather than an exercize in aggression for its own sake.

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[27] See Salles 1988 on the difficulty of believing in regular circumnavigation of Arabia at this date.

But by the same token, of course, individual imperial conquests and the whole pattern of imperial conquest may also have more mundane and material motives, aside from provocation or a divinely authorized will to power. What sort of room for trade and commerce might there be here?

It is no secret that the Achaemenid empire was (or, at the latest, became with Darius) extremely tribute-oriented. Nor is it any secret that plenty of strands of evidence suggest the king's interest in ensuring and promoting the productivity and prosperity of the various parts of his empire. The same strands of evidence make it quite clear that tribute and prosperity are intimately linked and that the promotion of prosperity is overwhelmingly located in the areas of agriculture and animal husbandry. What is involved is the mentality of the lover of *paradeisoi*, productive as well as ornamental establishments (illuminatingly interpreted by Briant (*RTP*, 451) as *inter alia* images of how the empire as a whole ought to be), and the owner of landed estates to be worked by someone else's labour. One might also notice the close identification of subjects with the bases of agricultural prosperity which is inherent in the 'earth and water' symbolism associated with acknowledgement of the Great King's power (cf. Kuhrt 1988, though the point is not entirely dependent upon her particular explanation of the act of submission). Whether or not the bureaucracy of Persepolis is typical, the type of economy and wealth its records reveal there is surely what the king will have regarded as basic to the health of his empire in all its parts. Accordingly, the threats to the empire as described in royal inscriptions on occasion include famine. In all this the Persian king was simply like his ancient near eastern predecessors, for all of whom the functions of a ruler included an element of the protection and promotion of the realm's fertility, though his utterances stress the matter less (just as they stress continuous expansion less) — DNb, after all, has nothing to the point. If, moreover, we choose to pay attention to the conviction of classical Greek authors that, in the days of Cyrus, the homeland of the Persians was ill-developed and provided a poor living for a population of *poimenes*, we may see here an impulse to imperialism, not just an aspect of imperial management.[28] Of course, the Greek authors in question did not spell out any such thesis; at best they regard the poverty of old Persia as an explanation for Persian military prowess.

In all of this there is no hint of improving prosperity (even to the end of having more prosperous subjects who could then pay more tribute) by encouraging trade. Even the famous comment about Darius being a *kapelos* seems to be making the point that his concern for an orderly system of assessing and collecting tribute betrayed an attitude of mind apparently out of keeping with traditional aristocratic values (Greek and perhaps Persian). Darius was obsessed with profit, but with profit actually obtained not by *kapeleia* but by the requisition of resources on the basis of military force, even if the military force might be represented as available for the benefit of the subjects and the protection of their capacity to produce what was being requisitioned. I should think that Darius' institution of a Persian coinage system also played a role: compare Herodotus' comment on the Lydians in I 94,1 which shows the association which could be made between coinage and *kapeloi*. It does not, of course, prove that the minting of coinage is in origin to do with promoting trade or that it was in the case of Darius. One could, of course, say that the upgrading of some long-established land routes into well-policed royal roads represented an exercise of military force in the interests of the long-distance trader comparable to its exercise in other contexts in the interests of the tillers of the land. But I should be happier to believe that this was high among the motives if some ancient source had said it first.

Are we just the victims of the taciturnity of the kings themselves and the distressing disinclination of Greek sources in all contexts to talk about trade in the serious terms which historians of that subject would like them to use? One does not have to read much relevant modern scholarship to discover that the relation between trade and the imperatives of neo-Assyrian imperialism is the subject of a good deal of attention. Recent claims that Israeli archaeologists have located the 'sealed *karu* of Egypt' which Sargon opened and where he encouraged mutual trade between Egyptian and Assyrian give the matter special topicality. Yet in that particular famous case (encountered again and again in the scholarship, because when it comes down to it there are so few relevant texts to play with) there is surely a large political component. The general character of the neo-Assyrian kings' relationship with the trade patterns of their time is not really the promotion of trade as such at all but the creation of a system designed to cause the influx into Assyria of goods (lovingly listed in many a royal text) which might, in an entirely different set-up, have reached there by trade — if Assyria had had enough of anything that anyone else wanted to make the exercise really profitable. Returning to the Persians, if one forgets about the unhelpfulness of explicit characterizations of imperial motivation in Greek or other sources, and just attends to the phenomena, it does not become much easier to think that trade is an important component. We have seen the difficulties with the Suez canal. One might make the attempt with the Scythian expedition. At least, one explanation of that enterprise (only partially endorsed in the most recent study, Gardiner-Garden 1987, 344) is to claim that Darius acted under the influence of Asiatic Greeks who saw trading advantage to themselves in the prospect of the Black Sea colonies and their native hinterlands being under the political suzerainty of the same empire as they were themselves. There is, of course, not even the slightest indirect hint of such a thing in Herodotus; the way in which the Greek cities of the region are to all intents and purposes ignored is particularly striking. The most that this parallel would justify claiming about the Suez canal is that certain Egyptian advisers put to Darius the material benefits for the satrapy of conquering Arabia or at least mounting Punt expeditions. I have already indicated what Darius is likely to have thought of the first suggestion — but if he did ever entertain it, his principal material motive will not have been benefit to Egypt. The second suggestion remains the most defensible version of the trade thesis (though it is a very special version); but later Egyptian hostility to the canal and the failure to maintain it after 404 argue that the actual material benefits involved were not perceived as great and that, if a return to the practices of the New Kingdom was in view, symbolic considerations were probably predominant.

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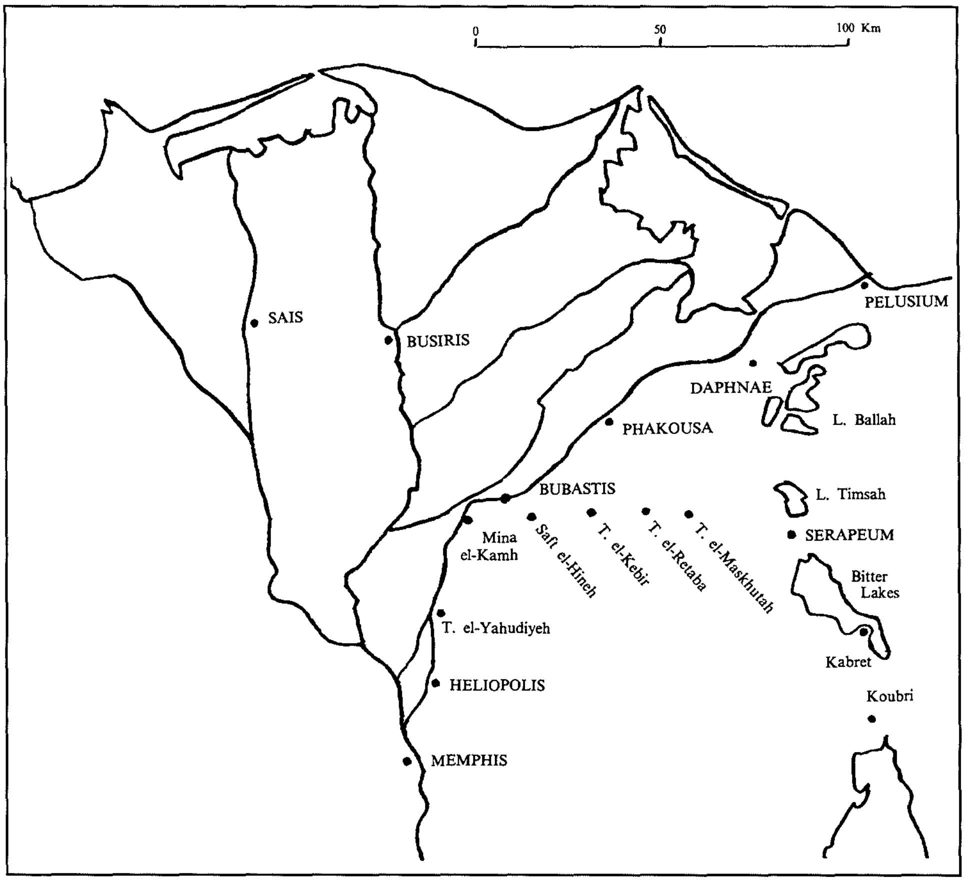
[28] See Hdt.I 71; I 89; IX 122; Plato *Laws* 695A, In Eurip. *Bacchae* 13f. the cliché for Persia is 'sun-beaten', not e.g. 'prosperous' or 'fertile' as it might well have been after Alexander. The old theme is still reflected in Arr. *Anab.* V 4,5.


0
50
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SAIS
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PELUSIUM
DAPHNAE
L. Ballah
PHAKOUSA
BUBASTIS
L. Timsah
Mina el-Kamh
Saft el-Hineh
T. el-Kebir
T. el-Retaba
T. el-Maskhutah
SERAPEUM
Bitter Lakes
T. el-Yahudiyeh
Kabret
HELIOPOLIS
Koubri
MEMPHIS

Fig. 1. (after Bietak, *Tell el-Daba* II, 171.

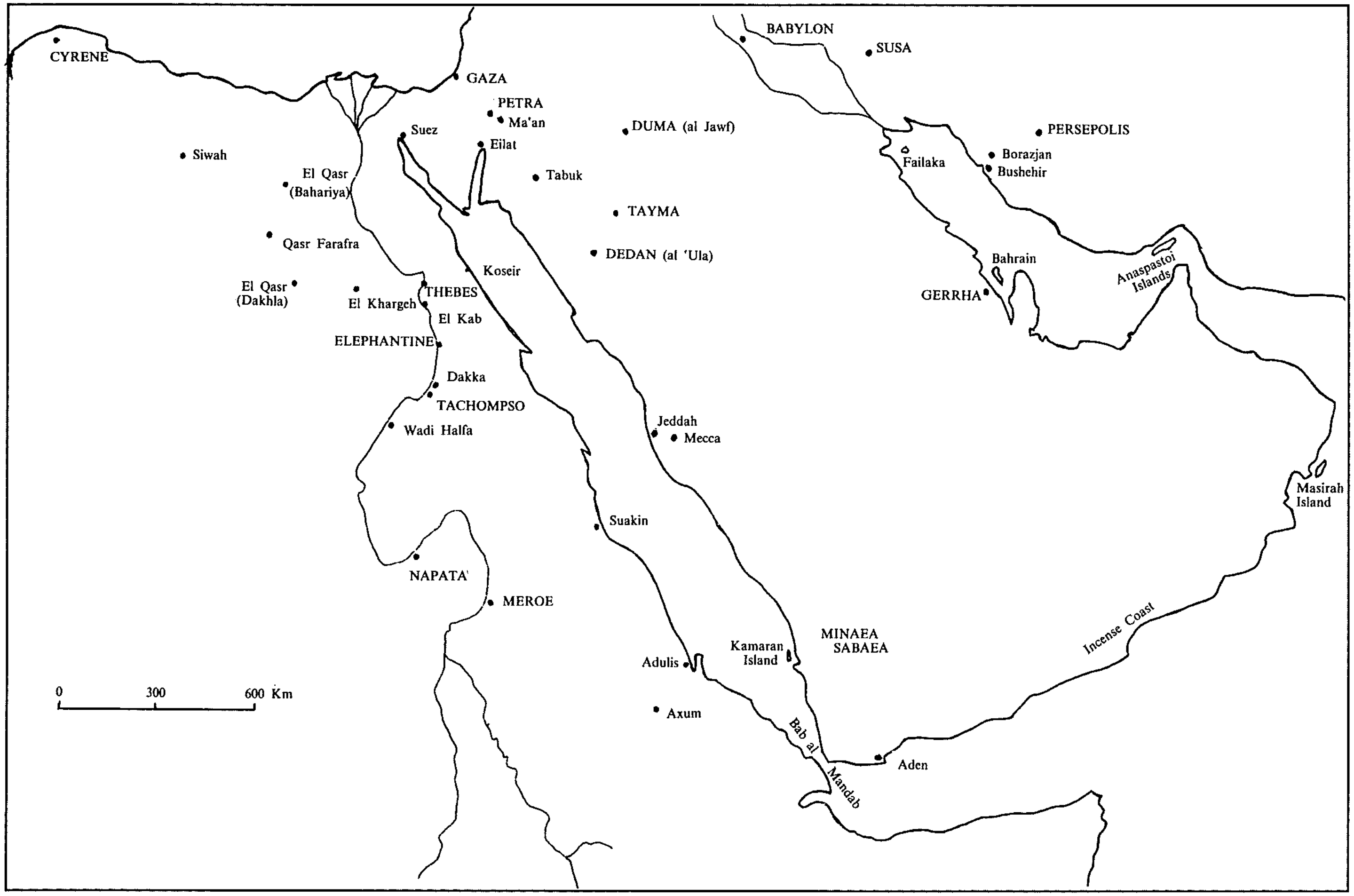
CYRENE
GAZA
PETRA
Ma'an
Suez
Eilat
Siwah
El Qasr
(Bahariya)
Tabuk
DUMA (al Jawf)
TAYMA
DEDAN (al 'Ula)
Qasr Farafra
Koseir
El Qasr
(Dakhla)
El Khargeh
THEBES
El Kab
ELEPHANTINE
Dakka
TACHOMPSO
Wadi Halfa
Jeddah
Mecca
Suakin
NAPATA
MEROE
BABYLON
SUSA
PERSEPOLIS
Failaka
Borazjan
Bushehir
Bahrain
GERRHA
Anaspastoi
Islands
Masirah
Island
Incense Coast
MINAEA
SABAEA
Kamaran
Island
Adulis
Axum
Bab al Mandab
Aden
0
300
600 Km

Fig. 2.

ÄGYPTISCHER STIL UND REICHSACHAIMENIDISCHE INHALTE AUF DEM SOCKEL DER DAREIOS-STATUE AUS SUSA/HELIOPOLIS

P. Calmeyer — Berlin

1. *Errichten der Statue*

Die bekannte kopflose Statue Dareios' I. wurde 1972 am Ort ihrer sekundären Aufstellung ausgegraben: am monumentalen Torgebäude, das den Palästen ('der Basileia') von Susa im Osten wohl zu einer Geländevertiefung hin (Perrot & Ladiray 1974, 45 fig. 1-4), vorgelagert war. Das Außentor wurde von Kolossalbildern, wohl geflügelten Menschenstieren, bewacht; das innere Tor war von zwei überlebensgroßen, auf den Wohnpalast ausgerichteten Statuen flankiert (Perrot & Ladiray 1974, 50 fig. 14-17), deren eine verschwunden ist. Das Torgebäude wird in zwei Inschriften des Xerxes ausdrücklich als das des Dareios bezeichnet (Vallat 1974b); aber es war wohl der Sohn, der es vollendete und der die ursprünglich wohl im Atum-Tempel von Heliopolis aufgestellte Statue (Yoyotte 1972c, 263 f.) — oder beide — hinzufügte.

Ob es bereits in Heliopolis zwei Statuen waren, wissen wir nicht, es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich: das entspräche sowohl ägyptischem Brauch (s. unten), aber auch der Darstellung in achaimenidischem Stil auf der Keilschriftseite der Stele aus Shalluf, wo zwei persisch gekleidete Königsfiguren unter der Flügelsonne stehen (Ménant 1887, 145; Roaf 1974, 82 fig.c; Calmeyer 1976, 82 Abb.6); erst recht wissen wir nicht, ob es sich um den verdoppelten Dareios handelt, oder — wie am Tačara durch Inschriften gesichert — um ihn und Xerxes (Calmeyer 1976, 83 C 5h).

Ein genaueres Datum der ersten Errichtung der Statue ist nur auf Umwegen plausibel zu machen:

a) Die Liste der hieroglyphisch geschriebenen Ländernamen auf dem Sockel (unten 2.5) ist die gleiche wie sie auf drei Stelen vom Suez-Kanal (Posener 1938, pl. IV-V pp. 53-54; 68-70; 84) teilweise erhalten ist; die Statue mag also ungefähr zur Zeit der Fertigstellung des Kanals beschriftet worden sein. Dadurch, daß Thrakien auf dem Sockel vorkommt, das bisher (zufällig) fehlte, ist die bisher gängige Datierung der Suez-Stelen in die Zeit vor dem Skythenfeldzug (Posener 1938, 181. 187-189; Kienitz 1953, 65) hinfällig.
b) Eine dieser Stelen, aus Suez, enthält, undeutlich, die Ziffer 24 (*ibid.* 85); Posener zögert, sie als Regierungsjahr des Dareios anzuerkennen (*ibid.* 50.87; vgl. jedoch Hinz 1975b, 115-116).
c) Auch der Name des Herrschers auf der Statue (dreimal: Perrot/Ladiray 1974, fig. 24.29: hier einmal ergänzt) und zwei der Stelen (Posener 1938, 8

pl. IV-V) gleichen einander: diese Schreibweise jn-t-r-j-w-š muß sich wie Posener (1938, 162 f.) betont, trotz des unterschiedlichen Wertes der datierten Beispiele, im Laufe der Regierung des Dareios durchgesetzt haben: im 4. Jahr galt eine andere; im 25. kommt die spätere Form zuerst vor, seit dem 28. keine andere mehr.

d) Aus den sogenannten Q-Texten der Persepolis Fortification Tablets schloß Hinz (1975b, 118-120), daß sich Dareios in seinem 25. und 26. Jahr (497-496 v. Chr.) weder in Susa noch in Persepolis aufhielt — im Gegensatz zu den Jahren vorher und nachher (494 v. Chr. bricht das Archiv der PFT ab: Hallock 1969, 41.365ff.)

e) Das Fehlen von Karien und den beiden Ionien unter den Ländern auf dem Sockel läßt sich am besten als Folge des Ionischen Aufstandes erklären (unten 2.6.).

Tuplin hat nun im Rahmen dieses Workshops die Datierung des Suez-Kanals sorgfältig geprüft (s. S. 248-255), vor allem die Argumente von Hinz (hier b bis d). Gewiß ist keines davon, für sich betrachtet, zwingend. Doch scheint mir nichts für eine Rückkehr zur alten Datierung in die Zeit vor 500 zu sprechen; vielmehr müßten wir annehmen, daß Dürftigkeit und Überlieferungslücken uns in drei Fällen in die gleiche Richtung gelockt hätten.[1]

Als Anlaß für den Transport der Statuen nach Elam schlägt Hinz den Aufstand im Jahre des Thronwechsels (486 v. Chr.) vor (Hinz 1975b, 120f.). Allein die Geschichte der Aufstellung wirft also bereits ein Schlaglicht auf die persisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen zur späteren Regierungszeit des Dareios.

2. *Vorbilder für die Völker-Repräsentanten*

2.1. Gefesselte Feinde

Besiegte, getötete oder gefesselte Feinde sind auch im alten Mesopotamien gelegentlich an Sockeln von Herrscherbildern erhalten, jedoch selten und nicht in einheitlicher, durchgehender Tradition.[2]

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[1] In diesem Band p. 249 ff. Am ehestem wird man seinem Vorschlag folgen, in der Zahl 24 (b) ein Tagesdatum zu sehen. Der von Hinz übersehene 'J-Text' PF 699 engt den Zeitraum für eine Ägyptenreise nicht wesentlich ein, wie Tuplin selbst sagt; dagegen ist der Sommer des Jahres 24 gewiß keine plausible Zeit dafür. Die Betrachtungen zur Namensschreibung (c) ergeben nicht mehr, als schon Posener erschloß: die spätere Schreibung hat sich langsam durchgesetzt, war aber zuletzt allgemein gültig, wie die verschiedenen Stadien im Hibis Tempel zeigen. Bei der Behandlung der Völker auf dem Sockel ist Tuplin entgangen, daß in zweierlei Hinsicht persische Vorbilder vorliegen: 1) die rechteckige, von Repräsentanten in 2 Reihen getragene Plattform gemäß der von Naqš-i Rustam (Calmeyer 1982, 109ff.; 121f.); 2) die vier Endpunkte, anders als dort, entsprechend denen der Gründungsurkunden von Hamadan und Persepolis (*ibid.* 123f.). Dies Streben erklärt die Placierung von Arakhosien und Sattagydien: nur so konnten die entferntesten Saka an die Ecke kommen. Ein Fehler ist einzig der Tausch von Kappadokien und Sparda. Die Interpretation als ägyptische "private gesture of resistance" ist verlockend, aber unmöglich durch die Parallelen in Hamadan und Persepolis.

[2] Calmeyer 1973a, 136f. Zum einzigen Beispiel mit Beischriften: Lambert 1965, 177ff.; Amiet 1976, 23. 83-85. 127 no. 15: mit toten feindlichen Fürsten; cf. 24f. 89. 127 fig. 17: 'bassin' mit Gefesselten.

In Ägypten dagegen entwickelt sich bereits von der prädynastischen Zeit an eine feste Tradition (Verner 1985, 145ff. mit Übersicht für die ältesten Zeugnisse) und, im Alten Reich, eine feste Typologie von Rundplastiken gefesselter Knieender: ein nur leicht negroider Typ für die Feinde im Süden, einer für Libyer und einer, mit spitzem Bart, für Asiaten (Verner 1985, pl. 6-8). Dieselben Typen kommen in der narrativen Reliefkunst vor (Helck 1977, 315f.). Im Verlaufe des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches wird der Reichtum an topographischen Namen (Simons 1937; Edel 1966) größer; die Listen werden voneinander abgeschrieben und um neue Erfahrungen bereichert (Giveon 1977). Noch deutlicher ist die Zunahme von Kenntnissen in den narrativen Darstellungen (Meyer 1913/1975³; Giveon 1971 verfolgt einen Volkstyp durch allen Epochen), gipfelnd in den farbig bemalten Fayencen des Neuen Reiches (Daressy 1910, 49ff.; Hayes 1937/1973; Woldering 1955; Šliva 1974, 233f.; Osing 1981, 389ff.). Daneben entwickelt sich eine zweite Traditionslinie, und zwar eindeutig diejenige, die zum Sockel aus Susa führt: Ortsnamenlisten der erwähnten Art werden mit gefesselten Vertretern der Städte oder Völker ausgestattet, die nach Art der Plastiken des Alten Reiches als Südvölker, Westvölker und Asiaten typisiert sind. Diese Figuren hocken entweder in Reihen aneinander gekettet (Giveon 1971, pl. IX) oder unter dem königlichen Namen, an die Hieroglyphe 'Vereinigung' gebunden, oder ihre Oberkörper wachsen aus den Namensringen der Ortsnamen;[3] an der Stirnseite des Sockels kann die Darstellung der 'Vereinigung der zwei Länder' mit den pflanzenbindenden Genien erscheinen,[4] wie am Sockel aus Susa (*CDAFI* 4 (1974), 206, fig. 22; 246 pl. XXX).

Diese Art der stilisierten Darstellungen lebt bis in die Spätzeit weiter; das Dareios zeitlich nächste Beispiel ist eine Ortsnamenliste am Fuß eines Pylons im Tempel des Taharqa in Sanam in Nubien (Griffith 1922, 105 Pl. XLI; Giveon 1971, 158f.), wo die (asiatischen) Gefesselten vor ihren Namensringen hocken (hier Abb. 3). Weit besser erhalten ist die große Triumphalkomposition Shoshenqs I. am 'bubastischen Torbau' im Amuntempel von Karnak (Hughes 1954, VIIff. Pl. 2ff.), wo die Oberkörper stereotyper Asiaten aus den Ringen neben und unter der Königsfigur wachsen (Detail: hier Abb. 1); daß man immer noch die Kunst der Typenporträts beherrschte, zeigen die Köpfe feindlicher Anführer, vom Pharao am Schopf gehalten, rechts daneben (hier Abb. 2).[5]

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[3] Edel 1966, Taf. 1 und 3 wechseln beide Formen miteinander ab. Wegen ihrer Einförmigkeit sind die Figuren in der Publikation zumeist weggelassen: p. XV. Bemerkenswert ist, daß im Nordteil des Hofes nur Völker nördlich von Ägypten dargestellt waren; die Statuensockel aus dem Südteil enthielten also wohl die Afrikaner: p. XIV.

[4] An den Sockeln von vier Stand- und Sitzbildern Ramses' II. in Luxor: Simons 1937, 70f. 155 Plan XV Diagram XXIII und Frontispiz. Meist sind die Afrikaner auf den Ostseiten der Sockel, die Asiaten auf der Westseite; eine Liste wechselt ab.

[5] Auskünfte, Hinweise und Photographien verdanke ich Dr. Jansen-Winkeln und dem Ägyptologischen Seminar der FU Berlin.

Deutlich verdankt das Sockelrelief in Susa (Abb. 4-6) dieser Tradition sehr viel: allgemein die Technik des Bas-Reliefs, die Namensringe in Form zinnenbewehrter Mauern, die schlanken Körper und hageren Gesichter (mit Ausnahme des traditionell dicklichen Kushiten: Abb. 6: 3. v. links), die spitzig überlängten Bärte und ganz speziell der Gesichtstypus der Asiaten (Abb. 1), der besonders beim Babylonier und Assyrer (Abb. 5:1. und 6. Figur von rechts) beibehalten wurde. Die abweichende Art der Wiedergabe von Brust und Schultern ist durch das Motiv zu erklären: die auf dem Rücken gefesselten Arme der älteren Bilder entfielen, und die Schultern konnten in der in Ägypten seit Langem üblichen reinen Seitenansicht gegeben werden.

2.2. Das Stützmotiv

Diese Änderung des Motivs ist wohl die gravierendste Neuerung des achaimenidischen Sockels. Die Fesselung wird, wie auf den Suez-Stelen, aufgegeben; das steht im Einklang mit allen anderen achaimenidischen Monumenten, die offenbar die Freiwilligkeit der verschiedenen Dienste betonen möchten (Walser 1966, 23ff.).[6] In Suez erscheinen die Völker-Repräsentanten in ägyptischer Tradition auf ihren Namensringen hockend, jedoch mit senkrecht nach oben gestreckten Unterarmen (Posener 1936, pl. IV-V; pl. VI no. 21; pl VII no. 1.3.4): das ist offenbar der, ebenfalls traditionelle, Gestus des Flehens (cf. hier Abb. 2). Auf dem Statuensockel ist das Motiv noch einmal entscheidend umgebildet: die Arme sind überlängt, scheinbar manieristisch, in Wahrheit aber zweckgebunden, denn nun können sie schräg bis in Scheitelhöhe gelangen, wo die nach oben flach gebreiteten Hände eine unsichtbare Ebene zu stützen scheinen (Abb. 4-6). Das kann nur meinen, daß sie die Statue stützen (Roaf 1974, 76; 148), und dafür gibt es kein ägyptisches Vorbild.

Gewiß ist das Motiv der tragenden Figur in Ägypten bekannt, jedoch in gänzlich anderen Zusammenhängen: vor allem wird der Himmel gestützt (Kurt 1975). Von hier aus muß sich das Motiv im 2. Jahrtausend nach Syrien und Kleinasien verbreitet und verändert haben: Götter und Herrscher werden getragen (Schmidt-Colinet 1977, 7ff.),[7] schließlich, in der neuassyrischen Kunst, in der Form, daß die Träger auf den Querholmen der Möbel stehen: Götter werden so von geringeren Gottheiten und Königen getragen, Könige von Höflingen, später von Genien (Calmeyer 1973, 137ff.). Von hier aus wurde der Bildgedanke ein Hauptbestandteil der persepolitanischen Hofkunst (Calmeyer 1982, 109ff.; 139ff.).

Die Haltung der Völker-Repräsentanten auf dem Sockel ist also ein

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[6] Zur echten oder scheinbaren Freiwilligkeit: Muscarella 1969, 280 f.; Calmeyer 1973a, 146f.

[7] Die wichtige Mittlerfunktion der ugaritischen und hurritischen Bildwelt müßte ergänzt werden. Den Übergang zwischen Gott und Herrscher bildet wohl der hethitische König, der zugleich Sonne ist.

Kompromiß aus ägyptischen Vorgaben und dem Befehl, freiwilliges Tragen darzustellen; dies führte zu der auffälligen, unseres Wissens neuartigen Handhaltung.

2.3. Gesichter und Frisuren

Bei der Kleinheit des Maßstabes konnten die ägyptischen Bildhauer nicht viele Einzelzüge der Typenporträts anbringen: das vorgeschobene Gesicht des Kushiten (Abb. 6: 3. v. links), der ausladende Schädel und das kurze Kinn des Ägypters (Abb. 6: 2. v. rechts) stammten aus ihrem einheimischen Formenvorrat, wohl auch das weiche, bartlose Profil und die beiderseits ausladende Frisur des Arabers (cf. Giveon 1973, pl. IX); auf dem Grab des Xerxes jedenfalls hat der Araber einen kräftigen Bart und nur hinten lange Haare (Abb. 7: 4. v. links; cf. Roaf 1974, 135f.). Schließlich ist auch das spitz ausschwingende Haar des Libyers (Abb. 6:3. v. rechts) nirgendwo in Persepolis zu finden, also wohl ägyptisches Sondergut.

Für die ägyptische Kunst sind alle 'Asiaten' bärtig. Um so auffälliger sind die Ausnahmen auf dem Sockel: der Perser und der Areier (Abb. 4: No. I und IV). Beide Völker erscheinen in Persepolis immer bärtig; für ihre Bartlosigkeit auf dem Statuensockel wurden bereits zwei Möglichkeiten erwogen (Roaf 1974, 96): „as a concession to Egyptian spectators ... where beards were a sign of barbarism“ habe man den Vertreter der herrschenden Perser zivilisiert dargestellt. Doch dagegen spricht, daß der ja sonst allenthalben an der hervorgehobenen Position teilnehmende Meder (Abb. 4: No. II) hier bärtig ist. Die andere Möglichkeit, im Zusammenhang mit dem gewickelten Kopfputz (s. unten 2.4) die oft bartlosen Diener in Persepolis zu vergleichen, läßt Roaf zögern: es sei doch schwer vorstellbar, daß Persien durch einen womöglich verschnittenen Diener repräsentiert werde. Doch ist ja der 'Kämmerer' auf den Schatzhausreliefs, in Nähe des Großkönigs, gewiß eine hochgestellte Person (Shahbazi 1976, 155f.), und wir hören von Ktesias, daß Eunuchen nicht nur am Achaimenidenhof mächtig waren, sondern auch Heere befehligten. Schon Assurbanipal bildet übrigens einen Eunuchen ab, der an der Spitze der assyrischen Armee einen elamischen Herrscher in Madaktu einsetzt.

2.4. Kleidung

Sorgfältige Vergleiche der Kleidung machen den Hauptteil von Roafs Studie aus; wir können seine Folgerungen[8] weitgehend übernehmen.

In keinem Falle ist eine traditionelle altägyptische Tradition fortgeführt; das ist besonders überraschend beim Ägypter, Libyer und Nubier (Abb. 6: 2.

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[8] Weitaus mehr, als es Roaf 1974, 148 in 'conclusion and summary' selbst angibt. Ich beschränke mich hier auf das wenige von ihm nicht Berücksichtigte, vor allem auf die Unterschiede in der Gesamtaussage.

bis 4. v. rechts): denjenigen Figuren mit den am stärksten traditionellen Physiognomien (oben: 2.3) und Namensbeischriften (unten: 2.5). Vielmehr tragen die Letztgenannten exakte Gegenstücke zu den riesigen Capes der entsprechenden persepolitanischen Typen (Roaf 1974, 139f.; 141f.); das Ärmelhemd des Ägypters entspricht nicht ganz dem der Königsgräber (Abb. 7: 5 v. links), wohl aber dem Wickelgewand einiger Darstellungen der Spätzeit sowie einem Beispiel vom Apadana (Walser 1966, Taf. 17: 6. v. rechts), und damit gewiß der Wirklichkeit.

Die meisten Gewänder entsprechen sehr genau denen der persepolitanischen Reliefs: wir erkennen z.B. das fußlange faltenreiche, oben in zwei Zipfeln endende des Arabers (vgl. Abb. 6: 1. v. rechts mit Abb. 7: 4 v. links), wadenlangen Mantel und Hemd des Babyloniers (vgl. Abb. 5: 1.v. rechts mit Abb. 7:2. v. links) und das knappe, faltenlose kniefreie Ärmelhemd mit breitem Gürtel des Assyrers (vgl. Abb. 5: 1. v. links mit Abb. 7:3. v. links). Wenn man in Rechnung stellt, daß die Wiedergabe von Hosen dem ägyptischen Bildhauer ungewohnt und zuwider gewesen sein muß, so kann man auch die nordöstlichen Völker (Abb. 4) in Persepolis wieder finden: so etwa den Saka im kniekehlenlangen Frack (vgl. Abb. 7: 1. v. links mit Abb. 4: 1. v. rechts).

Hält sich der ägyptische Bildhauer bei der Angabe von Hosen, und erst recht von Schuhen, aus alter Gewohnheit zurück, so gilt das abgeschwächt auch für die Kopfbedeckungen. In Persepolis haben alle iranischen Völker, die meisten kleinasiatischen, die Thraker und die beiden mesopotamischen Völker unweigerlich ihre charakteristischen Kopfbedeckungen; Ausnahmen sind nur Randvölker: Karer und (später) Griechen, Makraner und (später) die indischen Völker, und die südwestliche Gruppe Ägypter/Libyer/Nubier - also maximal 8 von 28 insgesamt. Dagegen sind es auf unserem Sockel 11 von 24.

Dazu kommen eindeutige Mißverständnisse: die spitze Zipfelmütze des Babyloniers (Abb. 7: 2. v. links), schon von assyrischen Reliefs her bezeugt und deshalb gewiß realitätsgetreu, wird zur oberägyptischen Krone uminterpretiert (Abb. 5:1. v. rechts); der Areier (Abb. 4: No. IV) hat, entgegen allen anderen Zeugnissen, den Turban des Persers mit dem Mantel des Meders kombiniert (Abb. 4: 4., 1. und 2. v. links): hier war der sonst recht getreuliche Bildhauer offenbar von allen Vorbildern verlassen und aufs Raten angewiesen.

Die mindere Sorgfalt bei den Kopfbedeckungen enthält wohl auch ein ideologisches Element: waren für die Iraner Kronen, Tiaren und Turbane unabdingbarer Ausweis sowohl ihres Ranges als auch ihres Ethnikons (von Gall 1972, 261ff.; 1974, 159f.),[9] so mußten sie dem Ägypter auch noch der

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[9] In Bisotun sind die 'Lügenkönige' verurteilt und ihrer Kopfbedeckung beraubt, damit ihres angemaßten Amtes. Es ist auch sehr bedeutsam, daß auf dem ältesten Bilddokument, den Grabfassaden, versucht wird, dem Yauna mit dem Petasos, den indischen Völkern mit einem

Spätzeit besten Falles, in Schlachtenbildern, als kriegerisches Zubehör, sonst als barbarischer Putz erscheinen.

Noch direkter in achaimenidischer Ideologie begründet sind die Waffen, die von allen Figuren der Königsgräber getragen werden - mit der uns noch unerklärlichen Ausnahme des Babyloniers (Abb. 7: 2. v. links). Dieses Verhältnis kehrt sich seit Xerxes um: am Apadana tragen einzig die Mitglieder der XI. 'Delegation' (Daher?) ihre persönlichen Waffen (Walser 1966, Taf. 18.56f. p. 85); in den Türdurchgängen Artaxerxes' I. sind es der 22. und 28. Träger: beides Saker (Calmeyer 1982, 141 Taf. 22.23;2). Den Grund für diese drastische Einschränkung kennen wir nicht, haben aber durch den Statuensockel den Beweis, daß sie schon unter Dareios eintrat. War es eine Reaktion auf Rebellion, etwa auf den ionischen Aufstand?

Sehr bemerkenswert ist schließlich die Verschiedenheit von Perser und Elamier (Abb. 4: No. I und III; cf. Roaf 1974, 94 ff.; 104f.). Auf allen Denkmälern der Persis sind Angehörige dieser Völker gleichartig gewandet;[10] der ägyptische Bildhauer dagegen scheint von dieser Gleichheit nichts zu wissen und ist gewillt, oder beauftragt, die Völker zu differenzieren: so besorgt er seinem Perser den Turban, den in Persepolis Diener und Eunuchen tragen (cf. oben 2.3) und betont auf dem weiten Ärmel die Streifen, die aus dem Aneinander-Nähen der verschieden gemusterten Stoffbahnen der vornehmen Persergewänder entstehen.[11] So ist die Kleidung zumeist aus persischen Vorbildern, manchmal aus der Realität abgeleitet; die persischen Absichten werden dabei mehrfach nicht verstanden.

2.5. Die Länder-Namen

Yoyotte (1972c, 256.258f.) hat die Beischriften ediert und übersetzt; Umschriften verdanken wir erst Kaplony-Heckel (1985:612). Die folgende Liste und die Kommentare stellte mir J. Osing (Bonn) freundlicherweise zur Verfügung:

	Links:		Rechts:
1	prs	13	bbr
2	mdy	14	3rmyn
3	ʿyrm	15	sprt
4	hrw	16	gdpdky
5	prtw	17	sktr

Band im Haar eine Identität zu verleihen; später, auf den Reliefs des Apadana und der Torgewände, unterbleibt das: Calmeyer 1983, Taf. 1, 2;2;7;8.

[10] Nur an den Schuhen und am Band im Haar zu unterscheiden: Hinz 1969, 68-72. Das Band hatte Hinz jedoch falsch bestimmt: Calmeyer 1973b, 136f. Vgl. Roaf 1974, 105, der aber nicht erkannt hat, daß es sich um Band und Gewand der normalen Elamer handelt, wie sie auch auf assyrischen Reliefs auftreten, und nicht mit der Königstracht des Teumman verwechselt werden darf, die in Pasargadae R weiterlebt. Vgl. demnächst Calmeyer *AMI* 21, 1988, 31.

[11] Auf den Ziegelreliefs in Susa und in Pazyryk belegt.

6	bẖtr	18	3šwr
7	sqdy	19	hgr
8	hrẖdy	20	kmt
9	srng	21	t3 ṯmḥw
10	sdgwḏ	22	t3 nḥs
11	ẖrsm	23	mg
12	sg pḥ skt (oder: sk t3)	24	hndwy

„Nr. 20-22 sind alte ägyptische Begriffe, die anderen sind späte Umschreibungen nicht-ägyptischer Namen. Bei deren Wiedergabe steht

3 für Stimmeinsatz oder -absatz (Alef),
y für konsonantisches j, hier wohl auch für den Vokal i/e,
w für konsonantisches w und wohl auch für den Vokal u/o,
ḏ für einen assibilierten Dental (dž, tš, bei semit. Namen auch für ṣ),
r steht sowohl für r wie für l.

Auf eine Unterscheidung von d und t sowie von g, k und q kann in diesen späten Texten nicht mehr viel Wert gelegt werden. Die alten stimmhaften und stimmlosen Dentale des Ägyptischen sind zu dieser Zeit großenteils zusammengefallen, und auch q wechselt in der Schrift nun oft mit k oder g.“

Die Beischrift zu Nr. 12 (Abb. 4: XII) ist als Eckpunkt der Gesamtdarstellung besonders wichtig. Posener (1936, 54.184f.) las den entsprechenden Namensring der Stele von Masẖuta „Scythie des marécages et Scythie des plaines (?)“, unter der Voraussetzung: „Si cette traduction est juste, il faut supposer l'ommission de“ [Fremdland-Determinativ] .... „ce qui s'expliquerait par le manque de place“. So übersetzte man auch den Namensring 12 des Sockels; doch spricht Einiges dagegen: unter den Sakā der persischen Inschriften sind die 'der Sümpfe und der Ebenen' unbekannt; daß eine menschliche Figur zwei Völker repräsentiert, kommt sonst auch nicht vor. So wäre es eine Erleichterung, mit Cameron (cf. Ch. Krahmalkov and G. Hughes *ap.* Cameron 1975, 85 n. 29) lesen zu dürfen, was wir von den Gründungsinschriften aus Hamadan und Persepolis (DH und DPh) kennen:[12] 'die Saka jenseits von Sogdien'. Hierzu J. Osing:

„Namensring 12 ist problematisch. In 𓄂 pḥ enthält er sicher das ägyptische Wort pḥw 'Sumpfgebiet' oder pḥw 'nördliches Ende (eines Gebietes)' (s. beiliegende Kopien aus dem 'Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache', Bd. I). Dies Wort schließt hier im Genitiv an das vorausgehende 𓋴𓎼 sg (Var. 𓋴𓎝𓎡 sk) an: „sg (Var. sk) des Sumpf- bzw. Nordgebietes“.

Die Interpretation des folgenden 𓋴𓎝𓎡𓇿 (Var. 𓋴𓎝𓎡𓏤𓇾) und der Zusammenhang mit den vorausgehenden Wörtern hängt davon ab, ob man das Zeichen 𓇿, Var. 𓏤𓇾 parallel zu 𓄂 pḥ und ähnlich wie in t3-ṯmḥw 'Libyerland' und t3-

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[12] Dreisprachig: Weißbach 1927, 291ff.: 'hakˇā sakaibiš ti̱aii̱ para sugdam'. Elamisch 'ša-ak-ka-be ..... ^{I}šú-ik-da'. Babylonisch: 'māt gi-mir-ri ša ni-bir-tum māt su-ug-du'. Vgl. Calmeyer 1982, 123.

nẖsj ‘Nubierland’ als das ägyptische Wort t3 ‘Land, Erde’ ansieht oder aber nur als eine ‘Gruppenschreibung’ zur Wiedergabe des Konsonanten t in einem nicht-ägyptischen Wort skt. Die erste Alternative ergäbe eine Interpretation: ‘sk des Landes der Erde’. Beide Alternativen haben ihr Für und Wider.

Alternative 1: Wie von Posener 1936, 54 und 185 mit Anm. 1 bemerkt, wäre auf der Tell el-Masẖuta-Stele das erste sk regulär mit dem Fremdland-Determinativ 𓈉 geschrieben, das zweite sk dagegen ohne. Auf dem Susa-Sockel ist die Verteilung des Determinatives 𓈉 genau umgekehrt.

Alternative 2: Wie von Cameron 1975, 85 Anm. 29 vorausgesehen, wäre gegen eine Interpretation von skt als Wiedergabe des Namens Sogdia einzuwenden, daß eben dieser Name sowohl auf dem Tell el-Masẖuta- wie auf der Susa-Text als Nr. 7 ganz abweichend als sqdy geschrieben ist. Grundsätzlich erscheint eine Schreibung skt als Variante von sqdy zwar nicht ausgeschlossen (s. a.a.O.), aber die genaue Übereinstimmung der beiden Stelen in der Namensform von Sogdia in Nr. 7 und die gemeinsame deutliche Abweichung von sk(t) in Nr. 12 ist meines Erachtens doch ein sehr gewichtiges Argument, und diese Abweichung bedürfte einer Erklärung. Man könnte z.B. an eine Kompilation der ägypt. Listen aus verschiedenen Quellen denken, aber so ganz wohl wäre mir bei einer solchen Annahme nicht.“

Doch wäre solch eklektisches Vorgehen genau das, was wir bei Frisuren und Kleidung der Figuren feststellten (s. oben 2.3 u. 2.4): Ägypter und Nachbarn nach Kenntnis des Bildhauers, der Araber davon noch beeinflußt, die Asiaten dagegen nach (ausgewählten) fremden Vorbildern, zuweilen frei kombiniert, wie beim Areier. Ähnlich der Schreiber: bei Ägypten und seinen Nachbarn ägyptische Begriffe (Nr. 20-22), Arabien, abweichend von allen achaimenidischen Listen, demotisch nach westsemitischem Vorbild (Nr. 19: Hagar), die anderen wohl unmittelbar nach aramäisch geschriebenen Vorbildern (Posener 1936, 183ff. no. 1.2.5.8.11.13.14; außerägyptisch: 18); jedoch sind die Vorbilder nicht ausschließlich persisch (Herzfeld apud Posener 1936, 187 n. 7), wie *bbr* für Babiruš (Nr. 13), sondern gelegentlich eindeutig babylonisch: *‘yrm* für $^{\text{māt}}$ Elamtu$^{\text{ki}}$ (nicht pers. Uvǰa: Nr. 3), m*dy* für $^{\text{māt}}$ma-da-a-a (nicht pers. Māda: Nr. 2), möglicherweise auch *3šwr* für $^{\text{māt}}$Aš-šur$^{\text{ki}}$ (Nr. 18).

Heterogene Vorbilder also entsprechen einander beim Bildhauer wie beim Schreiber. Deshalb könnte sehr wohl einmal *sqdy* von pers. Suguda oder babyl. $^{\text{māt}}$su-ug-du abgeleitet sein, daneben aber *skt* vielleicht von $^{\text{I}}$šú-ik-da, wie in der elamischen Version der Gründungstafel von Persepolis (s. oben n. 22).

2.6. Anordnung und Auswahl

Die Liste der Namen, linear gelesen, entspricht, mit einigen Ausnahmen, der nächst älteren des Dareios (DNa, vom Grab):

[Persien (Z. 19)]	(1) Persien
Medien	(2) Medien
Elam	(3) Elam
Parthien	(s.u.)
Areia	(4) Areia
(s.o.)	(5) Parthien
Baktrien	(6) Baktrien
Sogdien	(7) Sogdien
Khorazmien	(s.u.)
(s.u.)	(8) Arakhosien
Zraka	(9) Drangiane
Arakhosien	(s.o.)
Thatagush	(10) Sattagydien
(s.o.)	(11) Khorazmien
(s.u.)	(12) Saka .... (vgl. 2.5)
Gadara	—
Hidush	(s.u.)
Saka haumavarga	—
Saka tigrakhauda	(s.o.)
Babirush	(13) Babirush
(s.u.)	(14) Armenien
(s.u.)	(15) Sparda (Lydien)
(s.u.)	(16) Kappadokien
(s.u.)	(17) Skudra (Thrakien)
Athura	(18) Ašur
Araba	(19) Hagor
Mudaraya	(20) 'Die Schwarze' (Ägypten)
Aramina	(s.o.)
Katpatuka	(s.o.)
Sparda	(s.o.)
Yaunā	—
Sakā paradraiya	—
Skudra	(s.o.)
Yauna takabara	—
Putaya	(21) Land der Tjemehu (Libyen)
Kushaya	(22) Land Nubien
Maciya	(23) Maga(n)
Karaka	—
(s.o.)	(24) Hinduy

Die Verluste sind eindeutig: die 'Saka jenseits des Meeres' sind schon seit dem Donaufeldzug verloren, alle Yaunā und die Karer durch den 'ionischen Aufstand' (s. oben), Gandhara aus uns unbekanntem Grund. Mangelndes Interesse speziell in Ägypten (wie Roaf 1974, 127 erwägt) kann es nicht sein: gerade Karer und Ionier spielten als Söldner hier seit Langem eine große Rolle.

Die Reihenfolge ist abhängig von DNa; doch sind mehrere Blöcke von Ländern ausgetauscht: die Kleinasiaten sind nach 'oben' gerückt, Indien ans Ende, neben Magan. Die Maßnahme wird nur verständlich, wenn man die Listen nicht linear liest, sondern sich klar macht, daß es sich um Längsseiten von Rechtecken handelt: DNa ist die Beschreibung des Reliefs darunter, wo die zweite Reihe mit dem spitzmützigen Saken und dem Babylonier beginnt (Abb. 7); der Sockel hat nur noch einen Saken und muß deshalb mit dem Babylonier beginnen.

Könnte man nun noch, allerdings recht simplifizierend, sagen, daß die Grabfassade in der oberen Reihe alle östlichen, unten alle westlichen Völker abbildet (zur komplexeren Deutung: Calmeyer 1982, 111-117), so geht das am Sockel nicht: links sind alle nordöstlichen, rechts hinten aber, plötzlich und ja offenbar willentlich umarrangiert, die südöstlichen. Auch eine Aufteilung in Berg- und Ebenen-Völker verbietet sich (Roaf 1974, 75 kommt damit nicht zurecht). Die Deutung wird erst möglich, wenn man das Prinzip aller Listen Dareios' I. (Calmeyer 1982, 170 ff.) zu Grunde legt: von der Mitte her (1-3) nach außen vorstoßend, hier zuerst nach NO (4-12), dann, nochmals innen ansetzend, nach NW (13-17), dann SW (18-22), schließlich nach SO (23-24).

Die Endpunkte, die sich daraus ergeben, sind der Saker, der Thraker, der Nubier und der Inder. Sie entsprechen, bis auf den Wechsel 'Sparda' für 'Thrakien', denen der Gründungsinschriften (vgl. oben Anm. 12):

Sparda	Sakā jenseits Sogdien
Kush	Indien

'Sparda' ist oft als Hauptort für alle westlichen Herrschaften interpretiert worden. Das wäre schon erstaunlich für das geographisch so abgetrennt gelegene Karien und erst recht für europäische Griechen und Thraker; daß es nicht so gemeint war, zeigen die Münzen im Gründungsdeposit des Apadana: der 'gutwilligen' Europäer wird ehrenvoll gedacht.[13]

Die Richtungen ergeben sich nicht nur aus der Gestalt des Achaimenidenreiches; sie sind außerdem die Haupt(-Wind)-Richtungen der babylonischen Geographie.

3. *Gesamtkomposition*

Die übrigen Elemente brauchen nur erwähnt zu werden. Die Szene, in der die beiden Genien von Ober- und Unterägypten das Zeichen 'Vereinigung' binden (Roaf 1974, 74 Fig. 22 Pl. XXX) sind seit dem Neuen Reich stereotyp. Der rein persische Charakter der Statue ist von Stronach (1974) ausgezeichnet beschrieben worden. Die Zusammenstellung dieser Elemente entspricht genau der der Statuen und Sitzbilder Ramses' III. (Simons 1937, Frontispiece). Es ergibt sich damit:

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[13] Vickers 1985c, 9ff.; 1986b, 243ff.: Paphos für Zypern, Abdera für Thrakien und Aigina für diejenigen Griechen, die 491 Erde und Wasser offerierten.

Ägyptisch	Aramäisch	Altorientalisch	Reichspropaganda
Figurenstil			
		Stützmotiv	
Gesichter			Frisuren
Drapierungsstil			Kleidung
			Auswahl
			Anordnung
Schrift			
Begriffe(3)	Lautstand (21)		
Landeshälften			
			Stil der Statue
Gesamtkomposition			

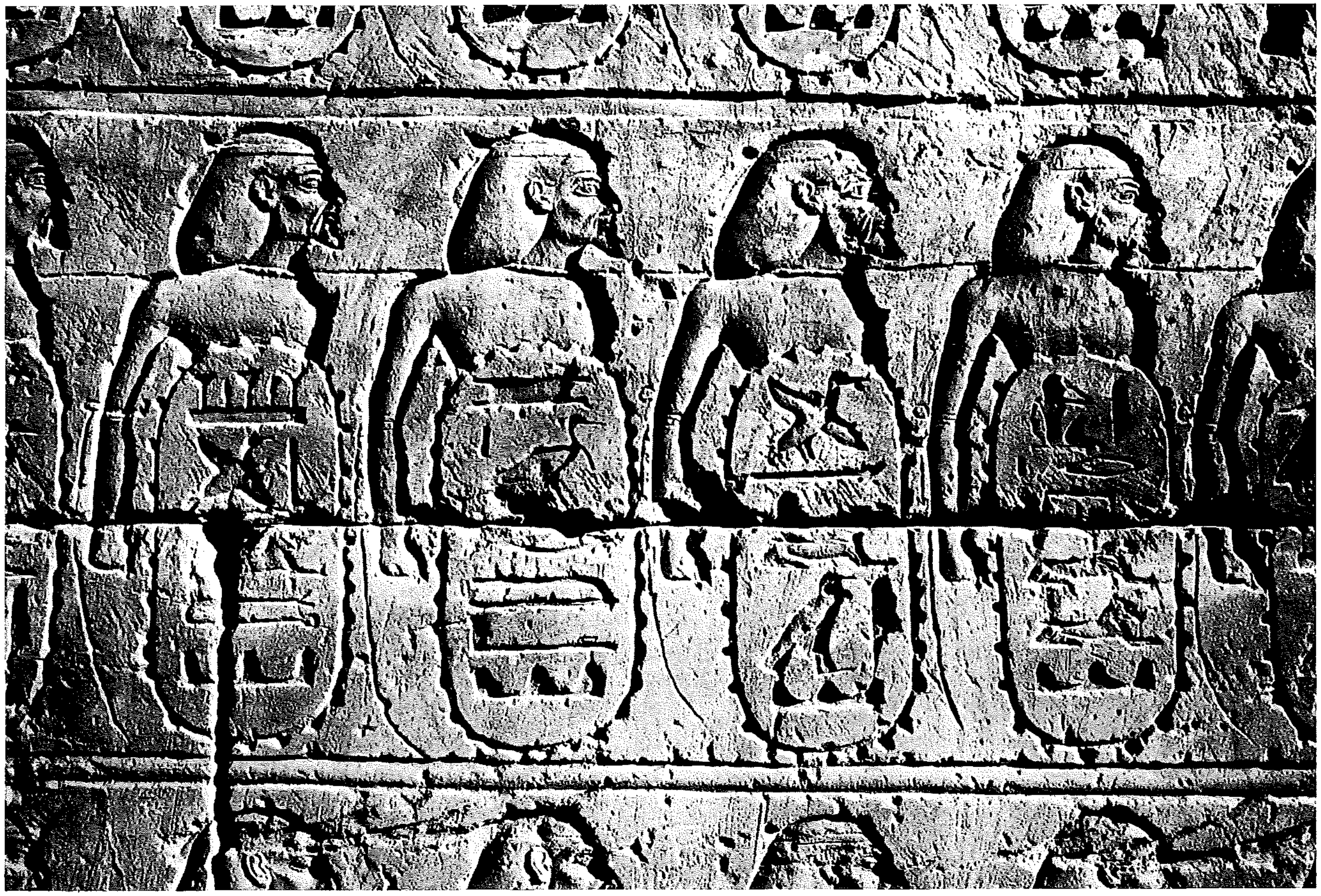


Abb. 1. Amuntempel in Karnak, Eingang zum ersten Hof: von Shoshenq I. eroberte Orte. Nach: Hughes (1954) Pl. 9 A.

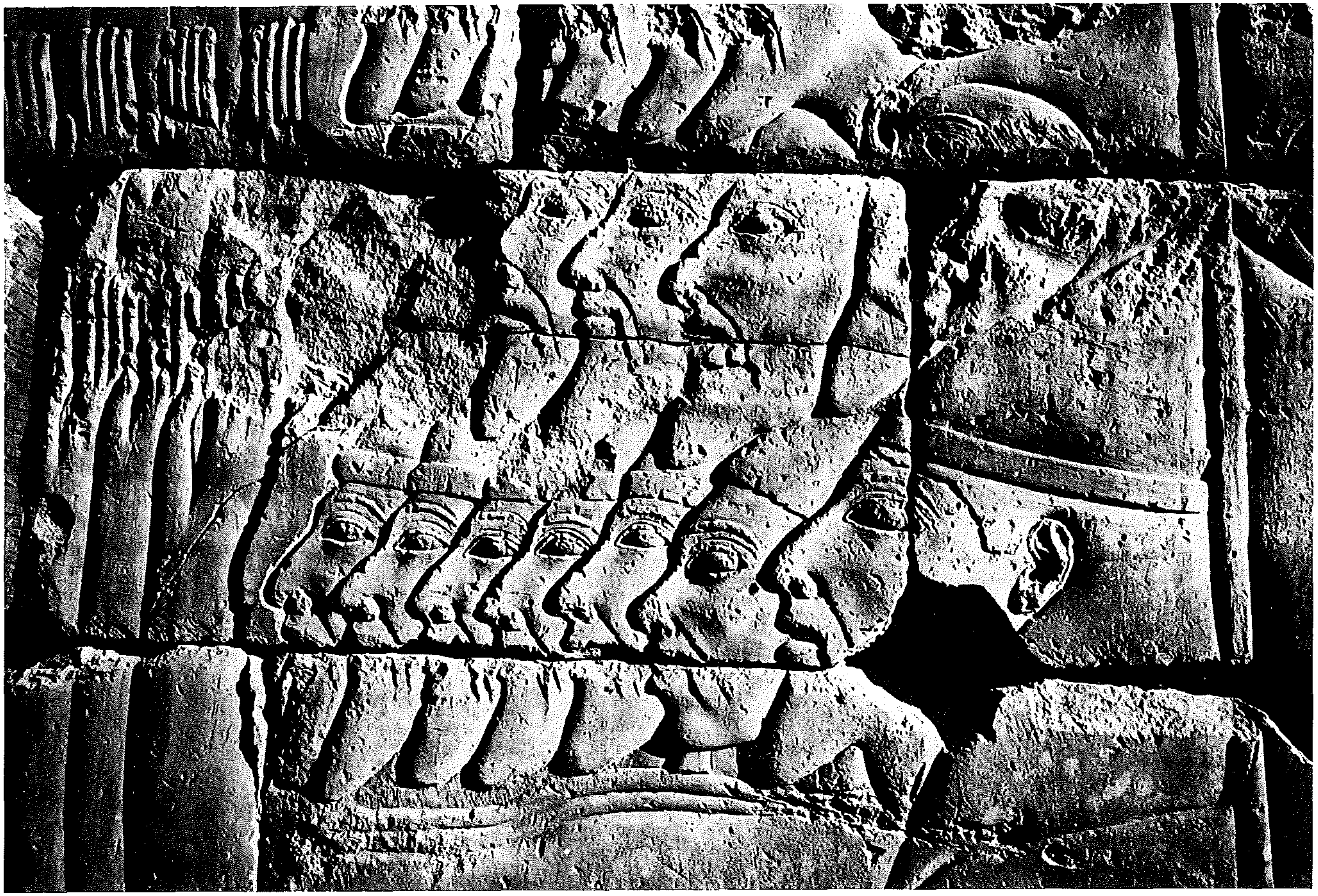
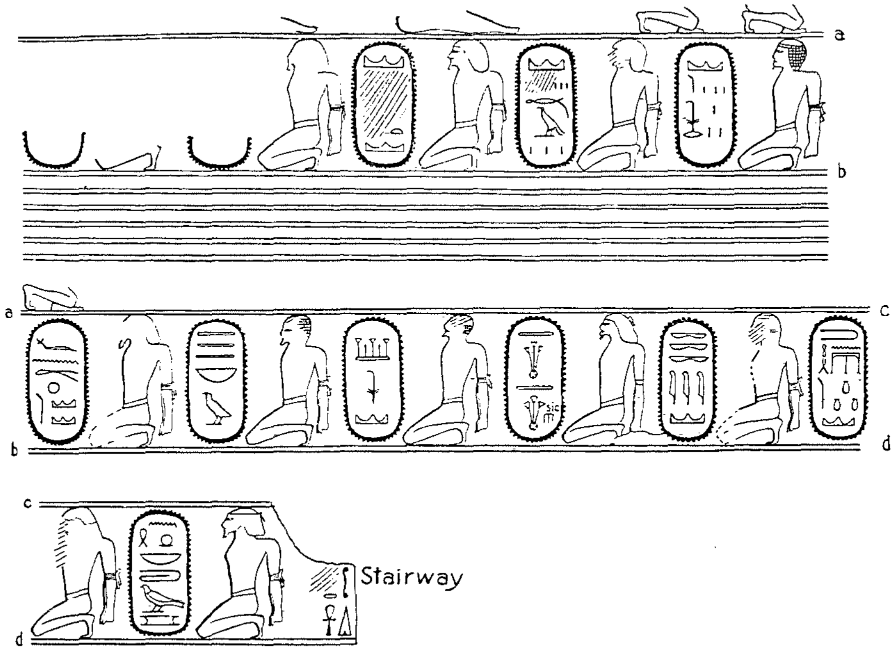


Abb. 2. Ebenda: von Shoshenq I. besiegte Anführer von Feinden. Nach: Hughes Pl. 10 A.


a
b
a
c
b
d
c
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sic
Stairway

Abb. 3. Tempel des Taharqa in Sanam: innerer Pylon, Westseite. Nach: Griffith (1929) Pl. XLI.

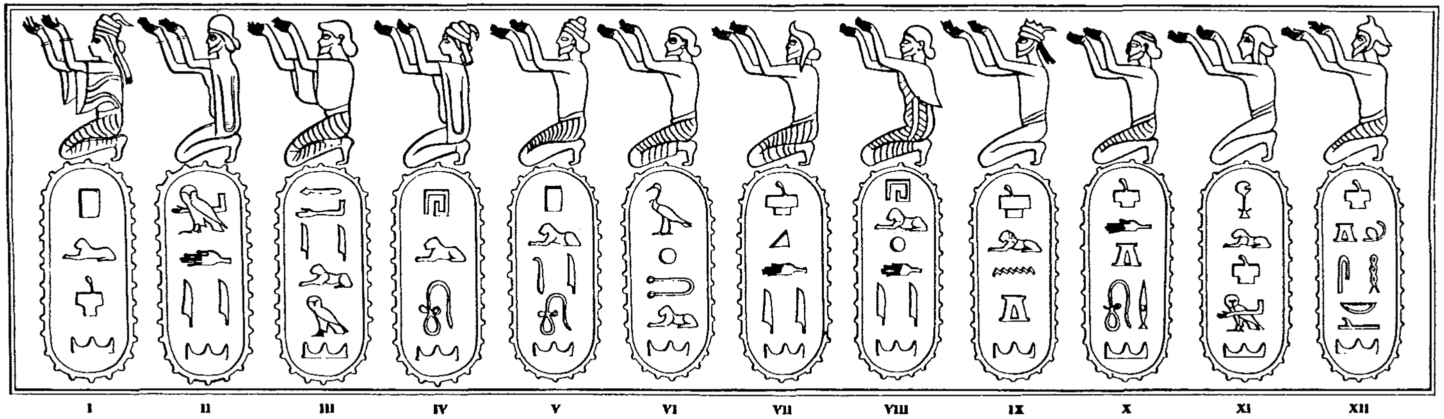
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII

Abb. 4. Statue aus Susa: linke Seite des Sockels. Nach: P. Steensma/J. Decroix/D. Ladiray, CDAFI 4, 1974 fig. 23.

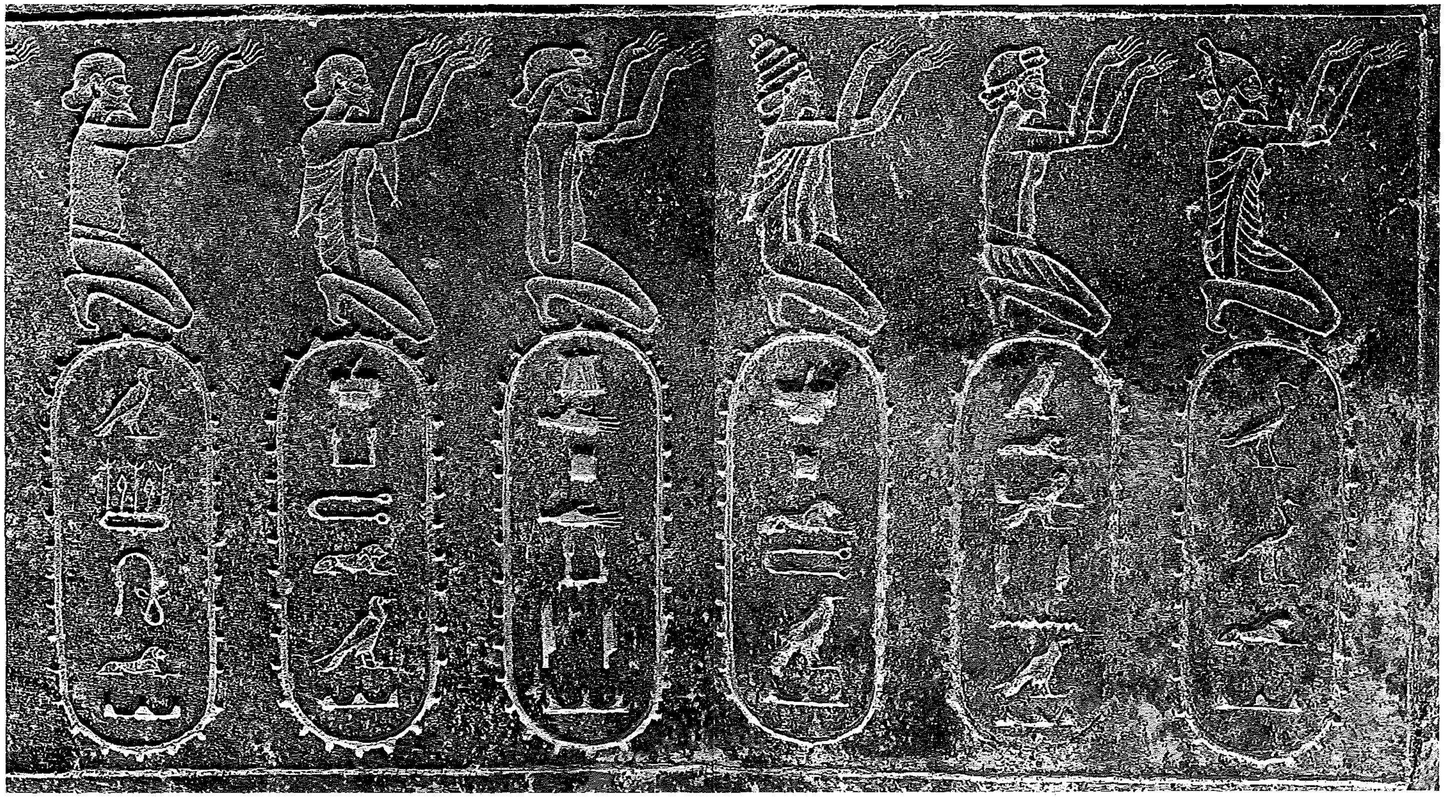

Abb. 5. Statue aus Susa: rechte Seite des Sockels mit Babylon, Armenien, Sparda, Kappadokien, Skudra u. Assur. Photogr. B. Grunewald.

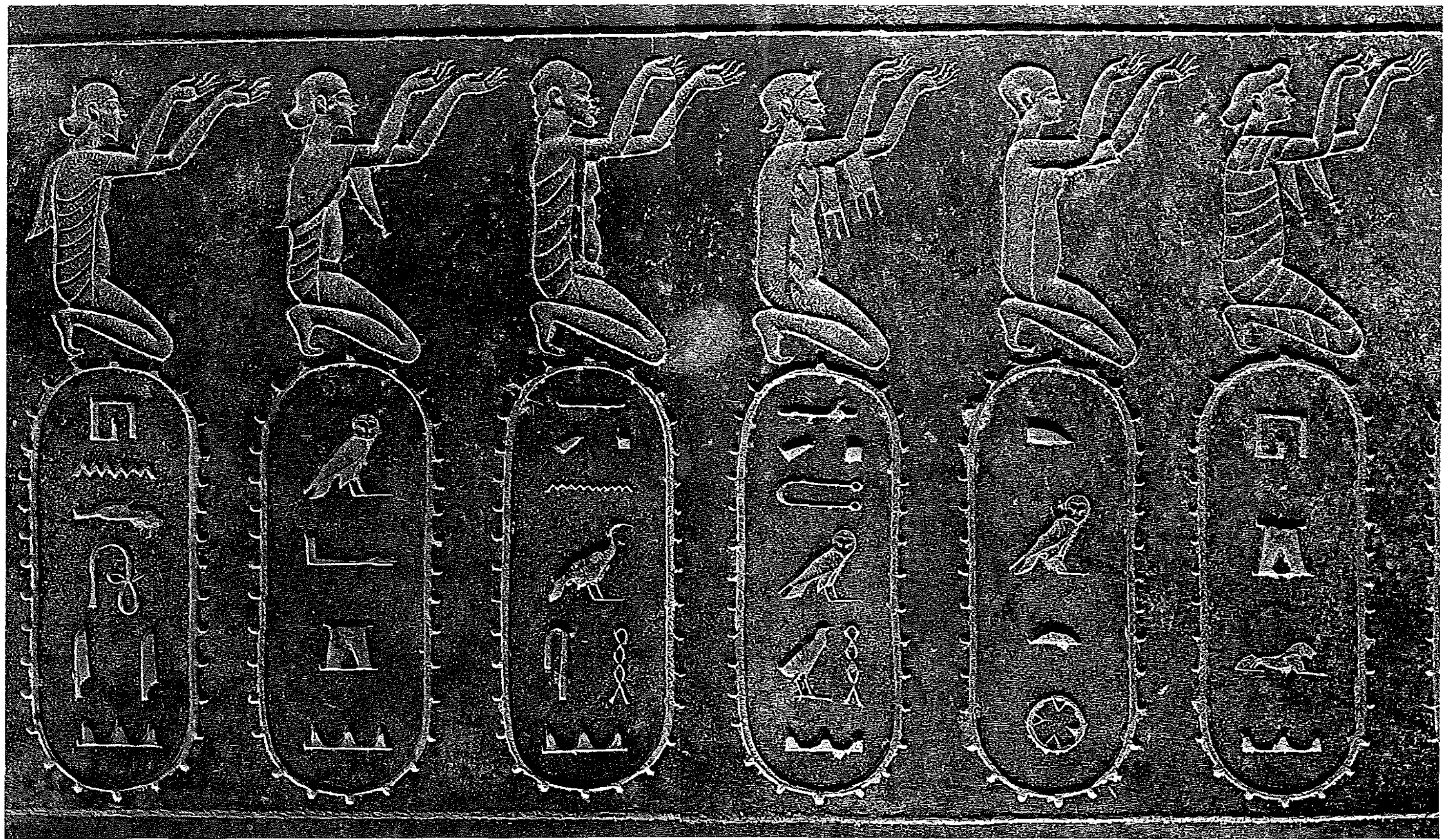

Abb. 6. Statue aus Susa: rechte Seite des Sockels mit Arabien, Ägypten, Libyen, Kush, Maka u. Hindu. Photogr. B. Grunewald.

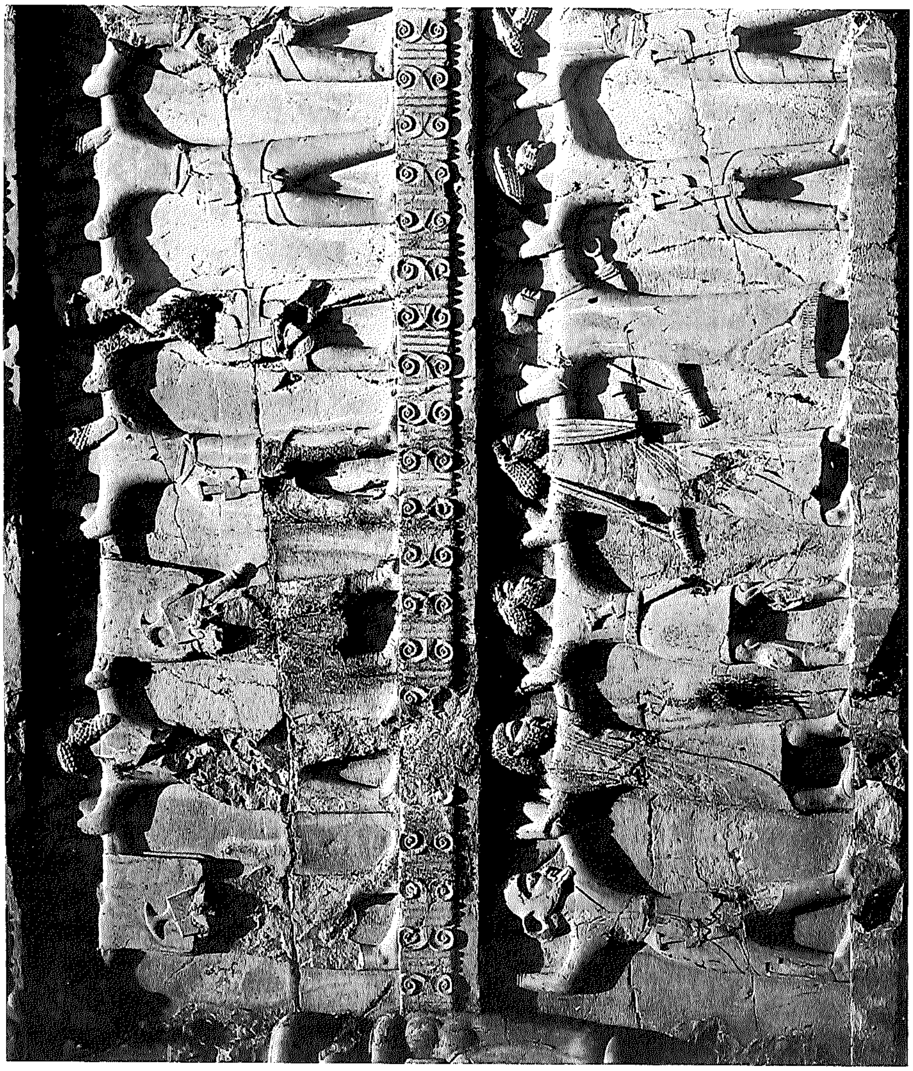

Abb. 7. Naqsh-i Rustam, Grabfassade des Xerxes, Detail.- Photogr. B. Grunewald.

PRTRK, RB ḤYL', SGN UND *MR'*
Zur Verwaltung Südägyptens in achaimenidischer Zeit

Josef Wiesehöfer — Kiel

Schon seit langem ist bekannt, daß Ägypten unter achaimenidischer Herrschaft verwaltungsmäßig in mehrere Distrikte/'Provinzen' zerfiel, an deren Spitze jeweils ein *frataraka* ('Untersatrap', 'Landvogt') amtierte (Henning 1968/1977, 138/659; vgl. Hinz 1979, 112; Bresciani 1984, 364, 370; Ray 1988, 267),[1] der, abhängig vom Satrapen in Memphis, die Oberaufsicht über die Verwaltung seines Distrikts versah. Dies darf man annehmen, obgleich uns bislang aus Ägypten nur drei *fratarakā* namentlich bekannt sind (die alle iranische Namen tragen): *rmndyn* - *Ramnadainā (CAP 20: 4; s. Hinz 1975a, 198), *frataraka* des Jahres 420 v.Chr., *wydrng* - *Vidranga (?) (CAP 27:4; 30:5; 31:5; Mayrhofer 1973, 207 nr. 8.1170), als *frataraka* bezeugt für die Jahre ab 410 v.Chr., beide im Distrikt *tšṭrs* (s. Porten 1968, 42-5; Tuplin 1987a, 123-4), zu dem Elephantine gehörte sowie *gršpt* - *Garšapati- (Schmitt 1987, 151; Zadok 1986, 41 = Garša-pāta-), *frataraka* des Distriktes von Memphis im 5. Jahre Dareios' II., also 419 v.Chr. (SAT 27: 5).[2] Erwähnt werden sollte noch, daß Vidranga Garnisonskommandant (*rab ḥaylā*) von Syene gewesen war, bevor er befördert wurde.[3]

In den Rechtstexten aus Elephantine wird nun zusätzlich ein Titel genannt, der von dem bekannten akkadischen Wort *šaknu* abgeleitet ist: *sgn* (*segan*). In der Forschung besteht keine einhellige Meinung darüber, ob diese Bezeichnung in den aramäischen Papyri überhaupt auf einen bestimmten Amtsträger zu beziehen ist, und wenn ja, mit wem der Amtsinhaber gleichzusetzen ist; lange Zeit wurde angenommen, es handele sich entweder um den Garnisonskommandanten (*rab ḥaylā*) oder um den *frataraka* des Distriktes von Syene.[4]

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[1] Zur Etymologie des Titels s. Andreas 1908, 213 n.2; Meillet-Benveniste 1931, 158f.; Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964, 119.

[2] Vleming 1981, 83 und Briant 1988a, 161 zählen auch den in den demot. Texten P. Loeb 1 und P. Berlin 13582 genannten *Prnw*, der früher irrtümlich mit dem Satrapen Pherendates gleichgesetzt wurde, zu den *fratarakā*; Briant beruft sich dabei ausdrücklich auf Hughes 1984. M.E. ist *Prnw* aber allein als *rab ḥaylā* (der Jahre 35 und 36 Dareios' I. = 488/7 v.Chr.) in Syene aufzufassen: Zum einen sind *frataraka* und *rab ḥaylā* nie identisch, zum anderen sagt P. Berlin 13582 allein: "*Prnw*, he of the southern district, to whom the fortress (?) of Assuan is entrusted" (Übers. Hughes 1984, 84), bezeichnet ihn nicht etwa als Gouverneur dieses Distriktes (dies legt auch Hughes nicht nahe).

[3] Von 420-416 v.Chr. als solcher bezeugt (CAP 20: 4ff.; 25: 2ff.; 38: 3;K 8: 2f.). Zu den Erfahrungen der jüdischen Siedler in Elephantine mit dem *frataraka* Vidranga s. zuletzt Ray 1988, 277-278 sowie besonders Briant 1988a, 144-147.

[4] *segan* = *frataraka*: u.a. Harnack 1970, 504; Grelot 1972, 75; Ito 1976, 51; Frye 1984, 159 n.61. *segan* = *rab ḥaylā*: Staerk 1912, 38; Cowley 1923/1967, 25; Porten 1968, 48. In seinem

Neuerdings ist dagegen die Unbestimmtheit des Terminus hervorgehoben worden (Tuplin 1987a, 126-127; Petit 1988a, 58-59).

Es ist nur allzu gut bekannt, daß den Großteil der uns erhaltenen Papyri aus Elephantine Rechtstexte ausmachen; in manchen von ihnen werden die Verantwortlichen genannt, die im Zusammenhang mit Rechtsangelegenheiten tätig waren: die 'Richter' (*dyny'*), manchmal mit den Epitheta 'königlich' (*dyny mlk'*: CAP 1; 16) oder 'der Provinz' (*dyny'* ... *zy mmnyn bmdynt tšṭrs*: CAP 27) versehen, der Garnisonskommandant (*rab ḥaylā*: z.B. CAP 1; 16; 20; 25; 38; 54; K 8; 13), der *sgn* (*segan*: z.B. CAP 8; 10; 47; K 9; 10; 12) sowie der *prtrk* (*frataraka*: nur CAP 20). Interessant ist dabei, daß *segan* einerseits und *rab ḥaylā* bzw. *frataraka* andererseits nie zusammen in einer Urkunde genannt werden;[5] erst dies macht ja eine Gleichsetzung von *segan* und Garnisonskommandant bzw. *frataraka* überhaupt möglich. Daß ein und dieselbe Person zwei Titel tragen konnte, die vermutlich zwei unterschiedliche Funktionen repräsentierten, macht der Fall des Vidranga deutlich, der in K 8:2f. gleichzeitig *hptḥpt* (**haftaxva-pātā*: 'Schützer des Siebentels')[6] und *rab ḥaylā* genannt wird. Ähnlich wäre auch eine Doppelfunktion *segan/rab ḥaylā* bzw. *segan/frataraka* zu verstehen.

Wichtig sind in diesem Zusammenhang die Dokumente, die über eine Art 'Instanzenweg' bzw. über die Möglichkeiten Auskunft geben, an verschiedenen Stellen sein Recht zu suchen. In Urkunden dieser Art findet man häufig die Kombinationen 'Richter und/oder Herr' (*dyn wmr'*: K 1:6), '*segan* und/oder Richter' (*sgn wdyn*: CAP 8:13; 10:13.18f.), '*segan* und/oder Herr' (*sgn wmr'*: CAP 47:2; K 9:19; 10:12f.; vgl. CAP 47:7) sowie '*segan* und/oder Herr und/oder Richter' (*sgn wmr' wdyn*: K 12:28). Porten (1968, 47f.) hat zu Recht betont, daß die Titel hier nicht in einer den Instanzenweg verdeutlichenden Reihenfolge angeführt sind; überhaupt ist nicht abschließend zu klären, in welcher Art Rechtsstreit man welchen Weg einschlagen mußte, um sein Recht zu suchen. Andererseits wird m.E. schon deutlich, daß die Autoritätsreihenfolge 'Richter'-*segan*-'Herr' lautete. Porten machte 1968 (*ibid.*) klar, daß sich die Anrede 'Herr' in den aramäischen nichtjuristischen Texten und Briefen auf den Satrapen Arsames (D 3:3.5; 4:2; 7:4f.; 10:1f.; vgl. CAP 17:1.5), auf den hohen Funktionär Mithravahišt (CAP 70:1) und Bagoas von Juda (CAP

Beitrag zu Elephantine im ersten Band der *CHJ* von 1984 hat Porten, der wohl beste Kenner der Verhältnisse in Elephantine, nun neuerdings eine Entscheidung in der Gleichsetzungsfrage nicht mehr treffen wollen (1984, 382).

[5] Es ist auch nicht richtig, daß ein und dieselbe Person in den Texten als *segan* und *frataraka* erscheint, wie Frye 1984, 159 n.61 mit fälschlichem Bezug auf Porten 1968, 48 und Grelot 1972, 75 behauptet.

[6] Henning 1968/1977, 138-145/659-666; dieselbe Deutung findet sich auch schon bei Bogoljubov 1967, dessen Beitrag 1974 ins Französische übersetzt wurde (1974, 109-114). Anders Ito 1976, 50, der **hapatixupātā* ('guardian of the public peace') liest. Zum Problem der Doppelfunktion und der Art des Amtes s. Tuplin 1987a, 125.

30:1f.18.23; 31:1.17.22) bezieht. In den Kontrakten allerdings sei mit 'Herr' wohl eher der *frataraka* gemeint. 1984 äußerte er sich zurückhaltender: „Did 'lord' refer to the *frataraka* or the satrap (compare CAP 17:1,5)?" (Porten 1984, 382). Dementsprechend unterschiedlich fielen auch seine Urteile über den *segan* aus: 1968 dachte er eher an den Garnisonskommandanten (Porten 1968, 48), 1984 ließ er die Entscheidung zwischen *rab ḥaylā* und *frataraka* offen (Porten 1984, 382).

Wie oben bereits angedeutet, haben Tuplin und Petit diese Lösung des Problems abgelehnt (Petit) oder doch zumindest in Frage gestellt (Tuplin). Sie gehen davon aus, daß „l'utilisation d'un même vocable [*sgn*, J.W.] dans des contextes très divers, judiciaire (papyrus araméens), administratif (textes bibliques) et religieux (rituels araméens), trahit l'imprécision du term" (Petit 1988a, 59) bzw. „the reference of lord and *sgn'* may differ depending on whether one or both are mentioned in the formula ... and *sgn'* should be no more regarded as the title of a particular official than is 'lord'" (Tuplin 1987a, 126-127). Für Tuplin sprechen vor allem zwei Argumente für diese Annahme: die Bandbreite der Anwendungsmöglichkeiten der beiden Titel und die willkürlich erscheinende Anordnung der Titel in den Rechtsformeln (*ibid.*). Petit (1988a, 59-65) verweist vor allem auf den unpräzisen Gebrauch des Terminus *sgn* im alttestamentarischen Zusammenhang. Zu letzterem sei daran erinnert, daß der Titel (bzw. die Amtsbezeichnung) dort immer(!) in der Pluralform erscheint, die Aussage daher notgedrungen unpräzise sein muß. Deutlich wird die Funktion eines *sgn* immer dann, wenn ein erläuterndes Beiwort oder ein Name hinzutreten, wie im Falle der arachosischen Festungskommandanten, des *sgn* der Zimmerleute bzw. des Ḥanan des P. Samaria 14 (s.u.). M.E. geben die oben angeführten Formeln, in denen von Richter, *sgn* und 'Herr' die Rede ist, nur Sinn, wenn diese Bezeichnungen nicht je nach Umstand verschiedenen Offiziellen zukamen, sondern allen Beteiligten klar war, welche Personen für Elephantine zu einer bestimmten Zeit als *sgn* und 'Herr' agierten. Daß in den Formeln 'Wer immer gegen dich eine Klage vorbringt vor ...' die Reihenfolge der beteiligten Amtsträger willkürlich erscheint, daß auch eine Identifizierung der Personen nicht möglich ist, liegt allein an dem Umstand, daß hier ja auf *mögliche* Fälle *in der Zukunft* angespielt wird, bei denen die Namen der Beteiligten nicht feststehen *können.*[7]

Wenn wir uns die Kontrakte näher anschauen, dann fällt auf, daß der *frataraka* nur einmal(!) im Zusammenhang mit einem Rechtsstreit erwähnt wird, in CAP 20 vom September 420 v.Chr. Dort lautet die entsprechende Textpassage (Z. 4f.): *'[nhn]w tb'nwks ldyn «np'»,, lpny rmndyn ḥqṣyn (w)wydrng / rb ḥyl'* (Porten 1974, 25: *rb-hḥyl*) .... „We brought an action of *np'* against you before the governor Ramandaina (and) Vidranga the garrison commander..." (Übersetzung Porten 1974, 25). In diesem Text wird also nicht der *frataraka* allein genannt, sondern zusammen mit dem Garnisonskommandanten. Bedenkt man zudem, daß der Kommandant sonst in Verbindung mit 'königlichen' Richtern (CAP 1:3; 16:7) [oder allein (CAP 25:2.4; 38:3; 54:14; K 8:2f.; 13:7)] in Rechtsangelegenheiten konsultiert wird, so spricht viel dafür, daß die Kombination *sgn* und/oder *dyn* dieser Verbindung entspricht, der *rab ḥaylā* demnach mit dem *segan* identifiziert werden darf. Die Rangfolge 'Provinzgouverneur'-*sgn* und damit auch die Gleichsetzung *segan* = *rab ḥaylā* scheint mir auch P. Samaria 14 nahezulegen (Cross 1974, 18; 1986, 7*), wo zusammen mit Yēšūaʿ *pḥt* der Ḥanan *sgn'* genannt wird, unzweifelhaft ein Untergebener des Gouverneurs. Weiterhin sollte man bedenken, daß das Wort *segan* in Elephantine auch in Verbindung mit einer Berufsgruppe, konkret den Zimmerleuten, auftaucht (CAP 26:9.21: *sgn ngry'*), man demnach die Bedeutung des Titels nicht zu hoch ansetzen sollte. Erinnert sei auch daran, daß in jener Zeit der *šaknu* in Babylonien 'nur noch' 'Vorsteher' einer *ḫaṭru*-Organisation war (Stolper 1985, 81-89).[8] In Arachosien bezeichnete man mit *sgn* in achaimenidischer Zeit den Kommandanten einer Festung (*sgn byrt'*) (Naveh-Shaked 1973, 445-457; Bogoljubov 1973, 172-177 in Auseinandersetzung mit Bowman 1970, 25-28.).

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[7] Darauf deutet im übrigen auch der abs.st. bei *sgn*.

Die Frage bleibt, ob nun *frataraka* oder Satrap dem *mr'* ('Herrn') der Kontrakte gleichzusetzen sind.[9] Da die Anrede 'Herr' sich, wie wir gesehen haben, bis auf seine Verwendung im innerjüdischen oder privaten Bereich (CAP 37:1.17; 38:1; 39:2 [aber immer im Pluralverwendet!]; BK 3:1), im Zusammenhang mit elephantinischen Angelegenheiten nahezu ausschließlich auf den Satrapen bezieht, dagegen kein Papyrus vorliegt, in dem man sich an den *frataraka* als den 'Herrn' wendet, liegt es m.E. näher, auch den 'Herrn' der Kontraktformeln auf den Satrapen zu beziehen.[10] Außerdem sei daran erinnert, daß der Satrap sich auch in anderer Hinsicht mit den Angelegenheiten auf der untersten Ebene seiner Satrapie zu beschäftigen pflegte (CAP 26). Daß der *frataraka* nicht Rechtsinstanz für die Siedler von Elephantine gewesen zu sein scheint, könnte auch durch den Umstand nahegelegt werden, daß in CAP 20 zusammen mit ihm der nun tatsächlich in juristischer Funktion tätige (s.o.) Garnisonskommandant anwesend ist, was bei einer Instanzenfolge 'Richter'-'Garnisonskommandant'-*frataraka* ungewöhnlich wäre. Dies alles verstärkt den Eindruck, daß der *frataraka* eher dem Verfahren beiwohnte als daß er die Rechtsinstanz war.[11]

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[8] Zum *šakin māti* (von Babylon) Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ unter dem *pāḫatu* Gubaru s. Petit 1988a, 66-67.

[9] Porten 1968, 48 bezieht ihn auf den *frataraka*; 1984, 382 läßt er die Frage unbeantwortet. Kraeling 1953/1969, 37 möchte *mr'* sogar auf den Garnisonskommandanten beziehen.

[10] Für den Satrapen als letzte Rechtsinstanz spricht im übrigen auch P.Rylands IX (Griffith 1909, IX). In CAP 16, in dem ebenfalls an den 'Herrn' appelliert wird, dürfte auch die Briefform des Bittgesuchs auf den Satrapen verweisen.

Wenn unsere Überlegungen zuträfen, würde folgende Kompetenz- und Aufgabenteilung innerhalb der südlichen Provinz der Satrapie Ägypten naheliegen: der *rab ḥaylā* hatte als Garnisonskommandant militärische Funktionen, war als **haftaxva-pātā* Verwalter und/oder militärischer Befehlshaber eines 'Kreises' o.ä. und als *segan* Rechtsinstanz. Der Titel *rab ḥaylā* dürfte dabei griechischem *phrourarchos* (Grelot 1972, 45f.) bzw. *akrophylax* oder *stratēgos*[12] entsprechen.

Über dem *rab ḥaylā* bzw. **haftaxva-pātā* stand der *frataraka* in militärischen und Verwaltungsangelegenheiten (CAP 30:5ff.; 31:5ff.); er dürfte wohl am ehesten als Provinzgouverneur aufzufassen sein. In juristischen Angelegenheiten dagegen hatten zumindest die jüdischen Siedler von Elephantine ihr Recht offensichtlich beim Satrapen einzuklagen, wenn der *segan* nicht in ihrem Sinne Recht gesprochen hatte.

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[11] Der Fall der Zerstörung des jüdischen Heiligtums scheint mir nicht gegen diese Ansicht zu sprechen, obleich sich dort die Priester des Ḥnûm direkt an Vidranga, den *frataraka*, wenden. Hier geht es ja nicht um einen zivilen Rechtsstreit, der den Instanzenweg nimmt, sondern um einen Konflikt zwischen zwei religiösen Gemeinschaften, bei der jede Seite politischen Beistand sucht (und dabei auf verbriefte Rechte verweist): die ägyptische bei Vidranga, die jüdische in Memphis und Jerusalem.

[12] Lidzbarski 1915, 67, wenn seine Ergänzung einer bilingualen Inschrift aus Kleinasien zutrifft.

DIE PERSER IN ÄGYPTEN
EIN ONOMASTISCHER BEITRAG ZU IHRER ERFORSCHUNG

Philip Huyse — Leuven

Die persische Expansionspolitik hat zuerst im Jahr 525 v.Chr. den Großkönig Kambyses II. nach Ägypten geführt; mit ihm begann die erste — und zugleich auch die längste — Perserherrschaft in Ägypten, die in der einheimischen Zählung als die 27. Dynastie gerechnet wird (525-402 v.Chr.).[1] Danach wurde Ägypten nach knapp sechzigjähriger Unabhängigkeit, die vor allem dank den Allianzen mit mehreren griechischen Staaten bewahrt werden konnte, für kürzere Zeit abermals Teil des persischen Reiches (343-332 v.Chr.; Olmstead 1948, 396-445; Johnson 1984; Ray 1987). Unter den Sāsāniden endlich sind die Perser zum dritten und letzten Mal in Ägypten gewesen (619-629 n.Chr.; Christensen 1944; Hardy 1929; Butler, Fraser 1978, 69-129; Frye 1984, 334-337; MacCoull 1986).

Wenigstens für die zweite und die dritte Periode gibt es große Lücken in unserer Kenntnis der Perserherrschaft. Im Nachfolgenden möchte ich versuchen, anhand der iranischen Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens etwas Licht zu verbreiten hinsichtlich der Anwesenheit der Perser in Ägypten außerhalb der Besatzungen, ohne aber dabei weder die Absicht zu haben noch den Anspruch zu erheben, Vollständigkeit auch nur einigermaßen anstreben zu können. Dieser Aufsatz ist lediglich das Ergebnis von Überlegungen anläßlich meines onomastisches Streifzuges durch die griechischen Dokumente Ägyptens im Rahmen des Wiener Unternehmens eines neuen Iranischen Personennamenbuches;[2] ich verfolge hier also keinen anderen

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[1] Dazu s. Posener 1936; Kienitz 1953, 55-112; Bresciani 1958b; Bianchi 1982; Frye 1984, 87-135; Bresciani 1985, 502-508 (zu diesem Aufsatz von Bresciani sei noch bemerkt, daß er bereits viele Jahren vor dem Erscheinen in *CHI* abgeschlossen wurde); Salmon 1985. Zu dem politischen System der Perser in Ägypten, s. Cook 1983, 173-174; Frye 1984, 114; Bresciani 1985, 512-520.

[2] Vollständigkeit kann schon deshalb nicht angestrebt werden, weil ich hier die iranischen Namen in den aramäischen, ägyptischen, demotischen und koptischen Quellen außer Betracht gelassen habe. Dazu sind zu vergleichen: 1. für die aramäischen Quellen: Eilers 1954-55 (*passim*); Schmitt 1972; Grelot 1972; Kornfeld 1978; Zadok 1986; Schmitt 1987. 2. Für die ägyptischen Quellen: Burchardt 1911; Ranke 1952, 412a; Edel, Mayrhofer 1971. 3. Für die demotischen Quellen: Mayrhofer 1972; Lüddeckens 1980ff., *passim*; Schmitt 1985. 4. Für die koptischen Quellen: Heuser 1929, 118; Thissen 1972; Huyse 1990a. So gehe ich nicht ein auf ägyptisierte Perser, wie etwa Ariyawrata, Gouverneur in Koptos, mit dem ägyptischen Namen Ḏd-Ḥr (Literatur dazu s. Anm. 1; daneben noch Briant 1988a, 161, 166) oder den vom Satrapen Aryandes nach Kyrene entsandten persischen Heerführer Amasis, der zwar einen ägyptischen Namen hat (s. zuletzt von Bothmer 1985, 37-39; Huyse 1990b, 30-31 nr. 3), nach Herodot I 125 aber dem Stamm der Maraphier angehörte und nach Polyän VII 28,1 vielleicht mit seinem persischen Namen Arsames geheißen hat, usw., oder umgekehrt auf persianisierte Ägypter, wie

Zweck als Ägyptologen, Historikern, Papyrologen, Prosopographen diese Gedanken vorzulegen, und ich überlasse ihnen eine weitere Interpretation der gesammelten Fakten.[3]

Sobald man sich mit den griechischen Papyri beschäftigt, begegnet ein erstes — wichtiges — Problem in der Gestalt der Πέρσαι (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς); da ich mich hier, als Nicht-Papyrologe, zweifelsohne auf schwankenden Boden begebe, möchte ich mich auf eine schematische Schilderung beschränken. Der Begriff *Persēs (tēs epigonēs)* ist bereits öfters in der papyrologischen Literatur[4] diskutiert worden, ist aber recht schwer zu lösen. Sicher ist gleichwohl, daß die Bezeichnung im Laufe der Zeit einer Entwicklung unterlag und die Funktion eines echten Ethnikons verloren hat. In groben Zügen könnte man etwa vier Epochen unterscheiden (Pestman 1963, 16-19).

In einem ersten Stadium, vom Anfang der ptolemäischen Periode (nach dem Tode Alexanders) bis etwa zur Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., in dem der Begriff in den äußerst seltenen griechischen Papyri nicht belegt ist, müssen als *Persai* ohne Zweifel noch 'echte' Perser [5] oder wenigstens Griechen, die im persischen Heer gedient hatten und als *Persai tēs epigonēs* Nachkommen der persischen Militärkolonisten bezeichnet worden sein. *Tēs epigonēs* verweist hier also auf *Persai* der zweiten Generation, die in Ägypten geboren sind (vgl. Übel 1968, 7-8), was sehr deutlich aus dem demotischen Äquivalent *Wynn ms n Kmj* 'Ioner (d.h. Grieche), geboren in Ägypten'[6] hervorgeht. Im frühptole-

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etwa Udjahorresnet (Literatur dazu s. Anm. 1 und Lloyd 1982) und vielleicht Osor-Wer (Porten 1968, 45, Nr.63, De Cenival 1984, 723; Briant 1988a, 161, Anm. 38), auch nicht auf Ägypter, die mit den Persern 'kollaborierten', wie etwa Ptah-Hotep (Cooney 1953; Briant 1988a, 159, 163) u.dgl. Auch die zahlreichen aramäischen Quellen z.B. über den Hafen von Memphis, wo Ägypter neben Persern, Babyloniern, Phoinikern u.a. arbeiteten (dazu s. zuletzt Thompson 1988, 59 mit Angabe weiterer Literatur), oder den in der ägyptischen Onomastik widergespiegelten Perserhaß (Guentch-Ogloueff 1941 — wenngleich mit größter Zurückhaltung zu betrachten, dazu s. Lewis 1958, 395, Anm. 14; Briant 1988a, 154; Bresciani 1978 und 1983 — dazu aber s. Zauzich 1984, 193 —; Briant 1987, 15; Briant 1988a, 151-154 und *passim*), lasse ich hier aus demselben Grund außer Betracht.

[3] Hierbei muß ich aber gleich selbst gestehen, daß meine Bemerkungen zu keinen tiefgreifenden Änderungen im Bild von den Persern in Ägypten veranlassen werden; ein Optimismus, wie ihn z.B. zuletzt MacCoull 1986 entfaltete (indem sie behauptet, daß eine gründliche Studie der Papyri aus säsänidischer Zeit — u.a. von iranistischer Seite her — zu einer neuen Darstellung der Säsänidenherrschaft in Ägypten beitragen kann) scheint mir — vorläufig — der schmalen Grundlage wegen, ungerechtfertigt.

[4] Lesquier 1911, *passim*, bes. 151-155; Heichelheim 1925, 76-80; Zucker 1937; Launey 1949, 563-580 und 1245-1251 (weitere Literatur, S.578, Anm.2); Oates 1963; Pestman 1963 (weitere Literatur S.15, Anm.1 und 2); Übel 1968, 7ff. (bes. 7, Anm.5); Bresciani 1972; Pestman 1982, 56-63; Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1983 (bes. 260ff.); Goudriaan 1988, 17-20; Vandersleyen 1988.

[5] Der einzige, der meines Wissens diesen Ausgangspunkt in einem für papyrologische Kreise recht revolutionären Referat bestreitet, ist Vandersleyen 1988, 193-196.

[6] In einer interessanten Darlegung über die *Persai tēs epigonēs* wird zuletzt von Goudriaan 1988, 17-20 die Gleichsetzung von *Persēs tēs epigonēs* und *Wynn ms n Kmj* abgelehnt. Er schlägt vor "that we take it at a face value, that is to say, a *Wynn ms n Kmj* is simply 'a Greek born in

mäischen Heer bildeten die Perser wie die Thraker, Makedonen, Kreter u.a. gesonderte Abteilungen.[7]

In der Zeit, aus der prosopographische Angaben in größerer Zahl vorliegen, ist der Terminus aber schon zu einem Pseudo-Ethnikon geworden, und er deutet nunmehr eine Klasse an (Pestman 1963, 16 mit Lit. S.16, Anm. 3). Im übrigen scheinen die Träger des Titels *Persēs* (*tēs epigonēs*) in dieser zweiten Phase, ab etwa 250 v.Chr. (Heichelheim 1925, 100; Zucker 1937, 915; Pestman 1963, 16) und bis etwa 150 v.Chr. hauptsächlich griechische Namen zu haben (vgl. Launey 1949, 571ff.). Hier fangen die Meinungen an zu divergieren. Oates und Vandersleyen (1988, 199-201) entziehen die *Persēs* (*tēs epigonēs*) dem militärischen Bereich, während Pestman (und Übel 1968) sie gerade auf diese Weise zu deuten versuchen. Nach Oates (1963, 116) müssen *Persēs* und *tēs epigonēs* von einander getrennt werden in *Persēs, tēs epigonēs*, wobei *tēs epigonēs* „a person who has no governmental or military position (...) civilian or private individual“ andeutet, und *Persēs* von Personen „without claim to a specific ethnic yet with some claim to Hellenic status“ gesagt wird. Pestman hingegen hält den Begriff in seiner Ganzheit für unlöslich mit dem Heer verbunden,[8] zum einen, weil eine ganze Reihe von Personen, die *Persai* genannt werden, dem Bereich des Heeres angehören (vgl. die Liste in Launey 1949, 571ff. u.a.), zum anderen, weil Personen, die mit Bestimmtheit nicht dem Heer anbehören, auch nicht *Persai* genannt werden (vgl. Pestman 1982, 59).[9] Das ist zugleich auch der Grund, weshalb ihre Frauen und Töchter *Persinai*, und nicht *Persinai tēs epigonēs* genannt werden, denn Frauen können niemals im Heer dienen (vgl. Pestman 1982, 59).[10]

Egypt', just as *Mdj ms n Kmj* is a 'Persian born in Egypt'". Wenn es auch stimmen mag, daß *Wynn ms n Kmj* 'Grieche geboren in Ägypten' natürlich keine echte Übersetzung zu *Persēs tēs epigonēs* 'Perser der Nachkommenschaft' ist, scheint mir seine — zweifelsohne erwägenswerte — Argumentation doch Schwächen zu haben. Aufgrund der Tatsachen, daß 1. ein gewisser *Harpaēsis* in einem griechischen Papyrus von 118 v.Chr. (P.Grenf. I,23) als *Persēs tēs epigonēs*, in einem demotischen Papyrus von 103/2 v.Chr. hingegen als 'Nubier geboren in Ägypten' und nicht als *Wynn ms n Kmj* erscheint, 2. umgekehrt in den bilingualen Dokumenten nicht alle *Wynn ms n Kmj* als *Persai tēs epigonēs* auftreten — aber hier geht es bloß um eine Vermutung seinerseits —, 3. eine *s.hm.t Wynn* eines demotischen Papyrus in dem griechischen Paralleltext als *gunē Hellēnis* und nicht als (*gunē*) *Persinē* "rücküberstetzt" wird, schließt er "that the historical development of the use of the Greek term *tēs epigonēs* and the evolution of the demotic expression *ms n Kmj* 'born in Egypt' do not run parallel". Solange aber nicht unumstößlich erwiesen ist, daß *Wynn ms n Kmj* nicht das demotische Äquivalent des griechischen *Persēs tēs epigonēs* ist, nehme ich nach der allgemeinen Auffassung die Gleichsetzung der beiden Ausdrucksweisen an, worauf ja auch die Mehrzahl der Beispiele hinzudeuten scheint.

[7] Für eine Liste der im 3. Jhdt. vorkommenden Ethnika s. Oates 1963, 67-68; für die Ethnika während der ganzen Ptolemäerzeit s. Heichelheim 1925, 84-109. Vgl. auch Pestman 1982, 48ff., bes. 48, A.9, wo näher auf die Bedeutung der unterschiedlichen Ethnika eingegangen wird. Zu den Thrakern in Ägypten vgl. noch Mihailov 1969.

[8] Pestman 1982, 58: "elle (=la désignation *Persēs tēs epigonēs*) est sans aucun doute liée étroitement à l'armée".

[9] Dies gilt auch für die 3. Periode, vgl. Pestman 1963, 17.

[10] Andere Erklärungen u.a. bei Zucker 1937, 917.

Persēs tēs epigonēs — ohne Komma — wäre dann die Bezeichnung der Soldatensöhne (Pestman 1963, 16; 1982, 59), die für das Heer rekrutiert werden.[11] In dieser Periode sind die *Persai* (*tēs epigonēs*) bis auf seltene Fälle keine Landbesitzer (Oates 1963, 61ff.).

In einem dritten Stadium, ab etwa 150 v.Chr. (Pestman 1963, 17) bis zum Anfang des ersten Jahrhunderts v.Chr., sind es überwiegend Personen mit griechischen und ägyptischen Doppelnamen,[12] aber vor allem mit ägyptischen Namen (vgl. Launey 1949, 578, Anm. 4 u.a.), die *Persai* (*tēs epigonēs*) genannt werden. Von den ursprünglich zahlreichen Ethnika des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. bleiben nur die *Persai* (*tēs epigonēs*) und zum Teil noch die *Makedones* übrig (vgl. Pestman 1963, 17, Anm. 3; 22). Von dieser Periode an wird *Persēs* auch statt *Persēs tēs epigonēs* verwendet (vgl. Launey 1949, 575; Pestman 1963, 19). Oates' Ansichten unterscheiden sich auch hier wieder von denen Pestmans. Nach Oates sind die *Persai tēs epigonēs* in dieser Phase „hellenizing Egyptians“ (Oates 1963, 111, 116), während Pestman sie eher „egyptianizing Hellenes“ nennen würde und bei ihm von einer sehr starken „egizianizzazione“ die Rede ist (Pestman 1963, 21, 29; 1982, 57, Anm. 1). Der Grund weshalb Oates die Ägypter, deren Bezeichnung *Persēs tēs epigonēs* ist, „hellenizing“ nennt, liegt in der demotischen Wiedergabe von *Persēs tēs epigonēs*, nämlich *Wynn ms n Kmj* 'Ioner (d.h. Grieche) geboren in Ägypten'.[13] Pestman glaubt genau das Gegenteil;[14] daß in dieser Epoche überwiegend ägyptische Namen mit der Angabe *Persēs tēs epigonēs* vorkommen, ist für ihn ein Argument für die Ägyptisierung (Pestman 1963, 20), neben den gemischten Ehen (vgl. Launey 1949, 577) — wobei die Eheverträge im übrigen meistens auf Demotisch geschrieben wurden (vgl. Lüddeckens 1960 passim) — und den Tatsachen, daß diese Leute (nur) auf Demotisch schrieben[15] und ägyptischen Göttern dienten (vgl. Pestman 1963, 22). Kurz gesagt, *Persēs tēs epigonēs* wäre gegen Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. eine Bezeichnung für all diejenigen gewesen, die durch ihre Abstammung als Soldatensöhne für eine militärische Karriere in Betracht kamen (vgl. Pestman

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[11] In dieser Hinsicht hat Oates nicht völlig unrecht, denn die Soldatensöhne haben noch keine Funktion im Heer.

[12] Vgl. Heichelheim 1925, 33; Launey 1949, 578, Anm.3 u.a. Zu den Doppelnamen s. noch Clarysse 1985.

[13] Oates 1963, 110; die frühesten Belege stammen von 244 v.Chr., doch erst ab der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhdt.s v.Chr. tauchen sie häufiger auf, vgl. Bresciani 1972, 123. Bresciani ebd. 127 (und Anm.30) behauptet, die echten Perser seien im Demotischen auch die *Mdj ms n Kmj* 'Meder (d.h. Perser) geboren in Ägypten' (vgl. auch Goudriaan); doch ist dies unrichtig, da wir in P.dem.Lille IV 35 und 44 (Clarysse, in Vorbereitung) 225 v.Chr. einen *Mdj ms n Kmj* finden, der im Griechischen ἐπιτελής (s. *infra*) heißt. Vgl. auch noch P.dem.Lille II 43 verso, Z.1. Der Mann hat außerdem einen ägyptischen Namen: *P3djWsir*, Sohn des *Pa-sj* (Πετοσῖρις Πάσιτος).

[14] So auch Launey 1949, 577, 579: “comme il (...) était plus facile, dans la vie matérielle, de s'égyptianiser que de s'helléniser”.

[15] Vgl. die zahlreichen Beispiele in Pestman 1963, 20, Anm.6.

1982, 60). Im Gegensatz zu der zweiten Periode treffen wir unter den *Persai tēs epigonēs* viele Landbesitzer an (vgl. Pestman 1963, 21).

Die einzige Periode, von der wir ein deutliches Bild haben, ist die Zeit vom Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.[16] bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.[17] Von jetzt an gibt es fast ausschließlich *Persai tēs epigonēs*. Der Terminus hat eine juristische Bedeutung bekommen. Wer *Persēs tēs epigonēs* genannt wird, ist Schuldner bei einem Darlehen;[18] demzufolge wird er ἀγώγιμος (ausführlich Pestman 1963, 27-28), d.h. der Gläubiger kann ihn als Gefangenen abführen lassen, bis er die Schuld beglichen hat (συνέχεσθαι μέχρι τοῦ ἐκτεῖσαι).

In sämtlichen griechischen Papyri tritt also kein einziger *Persēs (tēs epigonēs)* auf, der auch wirklich iranischer Herkunft sein kann. In einem Fall begegnet der — allerdings schon griechisch gewordene! — Name *Persēs* als Personenname in Verbindung mit einem iranischen Patronymikon (P.Petr. III, 58e, Kol.1, 10 und 20 von ca. 230-220 v.Chr. aus dem Arsinoites).

Damit können wir uns dem Namengut zuwenden: Etwa fünfzig iranische Namen, von denen einige auf die lautgeschichtlich fortgeschrittenere mitteliranische Stufe zurückzuführen sind (wie etwa *Artabour*, *Narses*, *Hormidas*, *Sabour*, *Saralaneozan*, *Chorochosro* u. dgl.), finden sich in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens vom Anfang der ptolemäischen Periode bis zum 7./8. Jahrhundert n.Chr. Einen ganz interessanten Fall stellt — falls man es hier nicht mit einem Titel zu tun hat — der Name *Saralaneozan* dar (BGU II, 377, 1 aus dem 7. Jahrhundert n.Chr.; P.Oxy. LI, 3637, 14 vom (19.?) Okt. 623 n.Chr.; vielleicht noch SPP X, 251, 2 von 625/6 n.Chr.); sollten *Saralaneozan* in BGU/SPP einerseits und P.Oxy. andererseits wirklich identisch sein, so war dieser hohe persische Funktionär also während der Sāsānidenherrschaft in Ägypten für zwei Nomoi (Arsinoites bzw. Oxyrhynchites) zuständig (s. auch P.Oxy. LI, 101). Der Papyrus BGU II, 377 ist aber auch noch aus einem anderen Grund recht interessant; er ist neben P.Gurob 22 (dazu s. *infra*) der einzige, in dem die Perser als eine geschlossene Einheit erscheinen.

Besonders zahlreich sind die theophoren Personennamen, die etwa die Hälfte des Namenbestandes in Ägypten ausmachen. Sie enthalten folgende Götternamen: **Ṛta-* (Αρταβοῦρ, Ἀρτάβαζος, Ἀρταπάϊ̃ης usw.), **Baga-* (Βαγόας), **Miθra* (Μιθραδάτης, Μιθροβανδάκης, Μιράσιστις usw.), **Spanta* (Σπα/ε/ονδάτης), **Srauša* (Σροῦσος), **Tīri/a-* (Τειριδάτης). Einige davon sind mit einem zweiten lexikalischen Element **-pāta* — 'geschützt' oder **-dāta* — 'gegeben' zusammengesetzt und so (wie es wohl öfters bei Personennamen vorkommt) aus einem Gottesnamen abgeleitet. Eine auffallende Namensform ist hier sicherlich Ὡρτάβανε, die zwar auf **Ṛta-bānu-* 'den

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[16] Vgl. die frühesten Belege in Pestman 1963, 24-25.

[17] Vgl. Pestman 1963, 23 (und Anm.2); bald nach 160 n. Chr. verschwindet der Terminus.

[18] Es gibt kaum Ausnahmen; vgl. Pestman 1963, 24, Anm.4.

Glanz des Arta habend' zurückzuführen ist, die Anlautschreibung jedoch wahrscheinlich dem Zustand zu verdanken hat, daß man hier volksetymologisch einen Horus-Namen vermutete, insbesondere im Vergleich zu den 'normalen' Wiedergaben Ἀρτάβανος, Ἐρτάβανος. Die Personennamen Μίθρης und Ὁρμίδας sollte man deutlich von den Götternamen Mithra bzw. Ahura Mazdā getrennt halten.[19]

Vor weitgehenden religionshistorischen Schlußfolgerungen aus diesem Namengut muß man sich allerdings hüten.[20] Natürlich hat es in Ägypten z.B. einen Mithras-Kult gegeben; in den griechischen Papyri ist jedoch nur zweimal ein Mithraion bezeugt (P.Gurob 22, 10 und BGU X, 1936, 2, jeweils aus dem 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.). Das Mithraion in P.Gurob 22 liegt wahrscheinlich, entgegen den Angaben in der Papyrusausgabe, eher im Memphites als im arsinoitischen Philadelphia (van 't Dack *BL* 5, 39), und zwar aufgrund der dort genannten Heiligtümer; besonders das ebenda erwähnte Nephthimieion scheint ein wichtiges Argument in dieser Hinsicht zu sein (so vorsichtig Quaegebeur, Clarysse, Vanmaele 1985).

Durchaus interessant ist die Frage nach den Motivationen der Namengebung und Namenwahl (Schmitt, im Druck), die Frage also, warum eine bestimmte Person diesen oder jenen Namen hat und keinen anderen.

Ein erstes Motiv, das — auch in Ägypten — gewiß eine ganz wichtige Rolle gespielt hat, ist das der historischen Personennamen, d.h. solche Namen für die es Vorbilder in Gestalt berühmter Persönlichkeiten aus der Geschichte, evtl. auch aus Mythologie und Literatur gibt, und die nicht mehr verstanden wurden, da sie eigentlich griechisch geworden sind. Bei der Namengebung denkt man also nicht mehr an konkrete Personen, sondern an alles, was ein bestimmter Name hervorruft. Die griechische Literatur und die Verbreitung der hellenistischen Kultur haben dabei meistens eine wichtige Rolle gespielt.[21] Auf diese Weise müßte man z.B. das häufige Vorkommen des Namens *Dareios* (10 Belege, Huyse 1990, 40-42 nr. 42-51) erklären oder die Hunderte von Belegen des Namens *Kuros* (u.a. Preisigke 1922, 199; Foraboschi 1971, 175), der doch sehr rasch, noch während der Achaimenidenherrschaft, verschwunden war (vgl. Eilers 1974, 60); daß er nachher wiederum auftaucht, haben wir Xenophon zu verdanken, vor allem aber dem Christentum, da Kyros bei den Christen wegen seiner Toleranz in Glaubenssachen sehr beliebt war (Eilers 1974, 64-66). Der größte Teil der Belege dieses Namens begegnet erst ab dem 5. Jahrhundert n.Chr. in Ägypten (z.B. Diethardt 1980, 185-188).

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[19] Vgl. Mayrhofer 1973, 282, Anm.65 und Schmitt 1980, 67; anders Solin 1971, 64, Anm.1.

[20] Davor warnte zuletzt ganz entschieden auch Schmitt (im Druck). Ein Beispiel dafür ist aus Ägypten der Christ mit dem iranischen Namen *Artabas* (Lefèbvre 1907, 356, 4 auf einer Grabinschrift in der el-Kharga-Oase aus unbekannter Zeit).

[21] Vgl. u.a. Robert 1940, 80: *Kuros*, *Astuanax*; id. 1959, 229, Anm.4; Schmitt (im Druck); Solin 1971, 62. Vgl. noch das in diesem Bezug sehr interessante Zitat des Chares von Mytilene, *FGrH* 125 F5.

Die zwei ältesten mir bekannten Belege in den dokumentarischen Quellen Ägyptens stammen aus dem 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr.: P.Oxy. III, 491, 18 Κῦρος Κύρου τοῦ Διδύμου (126 n.Chr.; Jones, Whitehorne 1983, Nr.961, 962) und P.Col. II.1, R° 4, Kol.8, 13 Τιθόης Κύρου (155 n.Chr.).

Umgekehrt findet man den Namen *Kambuses* nicht als Personennamen in den dokumentarischen Quellen, da er in Ägypten wegen der vermeintlichen[22] Untaten des persischen Königs Kambyses II. (530-522 v.Chr.) einen sehr negativen Klang hatte; so wird er z.B. in den Gedichten auf dem Memnonskoloß[23] ἄθεος u.ä. genannt. Daraus ist es gut verständlich, daß in Ägypten niemand sein Kind nach diesem 'Barbaren' nennen wollte.

Das Motiv der Betonung familiärer Bindungen ist gleichfalls wichtig gewesen: Die Kinder tragen den Namen der Eltern (s. *supra* Κῦρος Κύρου τοῦ Διδύμου) oder Großeltern usw. Geläufig war bekanntlich auch der Brauch, den Enkel nach dem Großvater zu benennen (z.B. in P. Tebt. I, 79, 70 Δαρεῖος Θεοδότου Δαρείου).

Sicher haben da auch andere Motivationen eine Rolle gespielt; z.B. ist der Name *Euphrates* ein beliebter Sklavenname (vgl. Lambertz 1967, 19). Nun finden wir tatsächlich unter den in Ägypten wohnhaften Personen, die diesen Namen tragen und deren Beruf oder soziales Milieu uns bekannt sind, einen Sklaven (SB III, 6291, 31, aus Soknopaiou Nesos, 143 n.Chr.) und einen Freigelassenen (P.Grenf. II, 71, Kol.II, 29, aus der el Kharga-Oase, 244-248 n.Chr.).

Diesen fünfzig iranischen Namen entsprechen etwa achtzig prosopographisch unterschiedliche Personen; für kaum ein Drittel[24] ist uns der Beruf und/oder soziale Status bekannt. Ohne daß es möglich wäre weitgehende Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen, kommt einiges doch wohl deutlich heraus. So muß man einen großen Teil der Perser — etwa die Hälfte — in einem militärischen oder ursprünglich militärischen Milieu unterbringen (Soldaten, Kleruchen,[25] usw.) Daß eine große Anzahl der Perser in einem Kleruchenmilieu situiert ist (vgl. auch die zahlreichen griechischen Vaternamen), erklärt auch, warum sich während der frühptolemäischen Zeit keine Perser in Oberägypten vorfinden (s. *infra*). Im südlichen Teil des ptolemäischen Reiches gab es nämlich kaum Kleruchen, weil dort nur wenig zusätzliches Fruchtland für die Soldaten zu gewinnen war; man hätte das vorhandene Land den einheimischen Bauern wegnehmen müssen (vgl. Übel 1968, 26). Für diesen Zweck war die nördliche Hälfte, besonders der Arsinoites, dank der natürlichen Gegebenheiten, viel besser geeignet.

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[22] Dazu s. Posener 1936, 168ff.; Kienitz 1953, 56ff.; Burn 1962, 88-90; Olmstead 1948, 89-92; Dandamaev 1976, 232-233 (über die Religionspolitik von Kambyses II.); Bresciani 1981, 217; Bianchi 1982, 943; Brown 1982; Bresciani 1985, 503-506; Balcer 1987, ch. 3; Lloyd 1988a.

[23] Bernand 1960, Nr. 29 (CIG III 4730, 8 = SB V 8211); Bernand 1960, Nr.94 (= CIG III 4741, 3 und 6 = SB V 8349c); Bernand 1960, Nr.72 (=CIG III 4749,8 = SB V 8356) und Bernand 1960, Nr.61 (= CIG III 4756,2 = SB V 8363).

[24] Im Nachfolgenden vermeide ich es bewußt exakte Zahlen zu geben. Es schien mir vorsichtiger, ungenaue Angaben wie 'die Hälfte', 'der größte Teil' usw. zu benutzen. Die beschränkte Zahl der bezeugten Namen und Personen könnte zu falschen Vorstellungen führen.

[25] Zu der Praxis der Kleruchie, s. Übel 1968, 3.

Kürzlich stellte Briant (1988a, 164) fest, daß „la politique perse en Egypte ne paraît pas fondamentalement différente de ce qu'elle fut ailleurs" (s. auch noch Briant 1988a, 161, 162, 175, 170). Die Perser haben als 'ethno-classe dominante' (Briant 1987, 12) die höchsten Ämter und Posten bekleidet, während sie auf lokalem Niveau die Ägypter eingeschaltet haben. Dies tritt in Ägypten auch in den Perioden außer der Achaimeniden- und Sāsānidenherrschaft (vgl. *supra Saralaneozam*) deutlich hervor: es genügt schon, sich des Priesters *Bagoas* im ptolemäischen Alexandrien (SB I, 378), der Strategen *Artames* (P.Tebt. III, 1043, 38 von ca.170 v.Chr.) und *Artapates* (SB I, 244, 4-5, aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.) oder des Konsuls *Artabourios* (P.Flor. III, 314, 1 und P.Flor. III, 311, 1, von 428 bzw. 447 n.Chr.) zu erinnern.

Bereits 1925 formulierte Heichelheim den Gedanken, „daß nach den vorhandenen spärlichen Zeugnissen mindestens die Möglichkeit für uns vorliegt, in dieser [i.e. frühptolemäischen, Anm.d.Verf.] die *rechtliche* Gleichstellung der Perser mit der übrigen hellenischen Oberschicht anzunehmen (...) Dafür spricht auch, daß in dem neuen Pachtvertrag von 151 v.Chr. Aegyptus V 129ff., in dem gegenüber Pächtern, unter denen sich auch ein Perser aus der Ep. befindet, ganz ungewöhnliche Rechtssicherungen angewandt werden, trotzdem eine Agogimosklausel nicht vorkommt" (Heichelheim 1925, 76-77 bzw. 77,A.1). Seitdem sind neue Beispiele hinzugekommen, etwa in dem demotischen Papyrus (P.dem. Lille III, Nr.99, Kol.II, 12) und zuletzt noch in CPR XIII, Griech. Texte IX, S.42, woraus deutlich hervorgeht, daß den Persern wie den Griechen die Obolossteuer erspart blieb. Leider sind die Namen der zwei dort erwähnten Perser nicht erhalten, so daß es keinen Aufschluß darüber gibt, ob es sich hier um 'echte' Perser handelt oder nicht. Heichelheim fährt dann fort: „Für *faktische* Gleichberechtigung spricht jedenfalls der Umstand, daß ein Alexanderpriester des 3. Jahrhundert einen persischen Vatersnamen aufweist,[26] also Perser, falls wir der Namengebung vertrauen dürfen, auch hohe Stellen am Ptolemäerhofe einnehmen konnten" (Heichelheim 1925, 77).

Die Mehrheit der Perser ist in eindeutig griechischem Milieu angesiedelt (über 20 Beispiele), und zwar vom Anfang der Ptolemäerzeit bis zum Ende der Sāsānidenherrschaft. Die Perser in ägyptischem Milieu sind viel weniger zahlreich, z.B. *Miradates*, Sohn eines *Hōros*, P.dem.Lille IV, 52, V° 4 (Hrsg. Clarysse, in Vorbereitung), ca.228-7 v.Chr.; *Arsames*, Sohn eines *Pnepherōs*, P.Princ. I, 14, Kol.V, 19, 23-40 n.Chr.; *Arsakes*, Sohn eines *Pachoumis*, SB XII, 11042, 11 (=P.Col. VII, 188, 11) 320 n.Chr.; *Hōrtabane* (s. *supra*), Vater eines *Sansneus*, P.Flor. III, 282, 7, 520 n.Chr. Nur vereinzelt begegnen die Namen in jüdischem — und gemischt jüdisch-griechischem — oder christlichem Milieu; nur einmal findet man ein persisches Patronymikon, und zwar bei *Mithrobandakes*, dem Sohn eines *Srousos* (s.*supra*; SB III, 6184, 14).

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[26] Tlēpolemos, Sohn eines Artapatēs (die Familie stammte aus Lykien) in P.Cair.Zen.III, 59340, 1 und 23 (=SB III, 6759), P.Petr. 42(2), R°, Kol.II, 3 usw., PSI IV, 385, 2. S. auch Huyse 1990b, 38 nr. 36a mit Angabe prosopographischer Literatur.

Die meisten Belege der Persernamen stammen aus der Ptolemäerzeit, besonders aus dem 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr., und aus dem mittelägyptischen Arsinoites — etwa die Hälfte; verhältnismäßig weniger sind aus dem Norden (Alexandrien und Memphis) bekannt, was vielleicht darauf hindeuten könnte, daß die Perser das ansonsten doch sehr wichtige Nil-Delta nie wirklich unter Kontrolle gehabt haben (vgl. Briant 1988a, 150, 172). Südlich von Hermupolis, wo im 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. einige persische Soldaten in der lokalen Garnison begegnen (z.B. *Orontas*, SB I, 4206, 137; *Oruntas*, SB V, 8066, 209; *Pasinēs*, SB I, 599, 157), gibt es fast keine Belege für iranische Namen; neben den zwei obengenannten *Mithrobandakes* und *Srousos* gibt es nur noch einen *Arsakes*, einen Militärkolonisten aus der Thebaïs in P.Grenf. I, 12, 31 von 148 v.Chr.

In römischer Zeit sind die Belege gleichmäßig über die ersten drei nach christlichen Jahrhunderte verteilt, wobei die Belege aus dem Arsinoites noch immer überwiegen. Der Rest ist über den Herakleopolites, Hermupolites, Oxhyrhynchites und die Thebaïs gleichermaßen verbreitet. Im Norden begegnet, in starkem Gegensatz zur ptolemäischen Zeit, kein einziger iranischer Name in den griechischen Dokumenten.

Für die byzantinische Zeit hat man die wenigsten Belege; die meisten davon stammen aus dem 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr., gehen also der Sāsānidenherrschaft voran! Offensichtlich hat die Anwesenheit der Sāsāniden keine nennenswerte Erhöhung in der Anzahl der Persernamen mit sich gebracht, wenigstens nicht in den griechischen Papyri. Obwohl man in dieser Zeit noch immer zahlreiche Beispiele iranischer Namen im Arsinoites findet, kann nun von einer Prädominanz keinesfalls mehr die Rede sein; mit Ausnahme von Nordägypten sind die übrigen iranischen Namen ungefähr gleichmäßig über den Rest Ägyptens verbreitet. Es ist klar, daß zu diesem Zeitpunkt die mitteliranischen Namen überwiegen.

Alles in allem kann man resümieren, daß von den in den griechischen Dokumenten vorkommenden iranischen Namen, deren Herkunft in etwa einem Fünftel unbekannt bleibt, der Norden, der Arsinoites und der Herakleopolites ungefähr zwei Drittel der Zeugnisse liefern. Im Arsinoites allein gibt es ebensoviele Belege iranischer Namen wie im Oxhyrhynchites, Hermupolites und Süden zusammen.[27]

Das Bild der Perserherrschaft, wie es zuletzt noch von Ray (1987, 79) geschildert wurde, scheint im Einklang (oder wenigstens nicht in Widerspruch) zu dem zu stehen, das man aus einer weiteren Analyse der prosopographischen Daten der Perser in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens herleiten kann. Die Perser scheinen in der Tat „to have governed Egypt with as light a hand as possible, relying on strategically placed garrisons and a good network of intelligence (...) The amount of tribute exacted from Egypt was not excessive (an Egyptian revolt was far too serious a thing to provoke for the sake of a few talents), but the economic activity of Egypt, with its large foreign communities — Syrians, Phoenicians, Jews, Anatolians and Greeks — was too important to leave to the control of others".

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[27] Vorsicht ist aber geboten, da überhaupt die meisten Papyri aus der Arsinoites kommen.

NUBIA AND ACHAEMENID PERSIA: SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

Robert Morkot — London

Nubia is the land of the Nile valley and central Sudanese savannah from Aswan to as far south as modern Khartoum. The political state, Kush or Meroe (from the major residence city in the south), covered most of this area. During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the northern frontier was probably at the second Cataract. Most writers suggest that Lower Nubia (i.e. Aswan to the second Cataract) was totally devoid of population during the 6th-4th centuries B.C. This is probably mistaken, although the population may have been sparse, and with little more than a subsistence economy, and possibly under the direct political control of neither Kush nor Egypt. There is some indication that there were local rulers.

The history of Nubia during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. is, as for most of Nubian history, reconstructed from the indigenous archaeological material supplemented by foreign historical records. With a few notable exceptions, Nubian historical documents are so far known only from the New Kingdom and the 25th Dynasty; the later records in Meroitic are not yet fully understood. The importance of archaeological interpretation is thus greatly increased, as is the reliance on non-indigenous records; indeed there has been an over-reliance on the veracity of, particularly Greek, references to Nubia. For the period contemporaneous with Achaemenid domination of Egypt the major Nubian evidence comes from the burials of royalty and nobility at Nuri, Barkal and Meroe and the inscriptions of Irike-Amanote, Harsiyotef and Nastasen. These sources have enabled scholars to construct a king list (see Table 1), although little can be said of internal events beyond that. The external evidence comes primarily from Greek literature, although a number of representations at e.g. Persepolis, and on ivories from Susa provide more direct indications of contact. The result, it should be emphasised here, is that a number of events are recorded by the external sources, whose historical veracity it is impossible to determine from the Nubian material. This, in turn, has led to controversy amongst scholars as to whether the Greek material should be considered as predominantly *topoi* or 'evidence'.

The Nubian Archaeological Material

The major surviving monumental architecture of the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. is the royal and noble pyramids in the cemeteries at Nuri (Dunham 1955), Meroe (Dunham 1957; 1963) and Barkal (Dunham 1957). After the

25th Dynasty kings and their immediate successors there is little temple building attested in Nubia until the third century B.C. The cemeteries, excavated by G.A. Reisner between 1916-1925, yielded large quantities of objects, although much of this has still only been published and discussed superficially. The cemetery at Nuri, near the religious site of Gebel Barkal (Napata) was the burial place of the rulers from the late 25th Dynasty until Nastasen. After him, it has been proposed (see Hintze 1973, 132), a few kings were buried at Gebel Barkal and three in the South cemetery at Meroe before the establishment of a new royal necropolis at Meroe, the North cemetery. The South and West cemeteries at Meroe had been used for the burial of lesser royalties and members of the nobility from the seventh century B.C. onwards.

Reisner established a chronology for the Kushite kingdom based principally upon an internal chronology of the cemeteries. This considered the position of each tomb within the necropolis and features of the sub- and superstructures. The chronology was revised by Dunham (1946) in his full publication of the excavations, and revised again by Hintze, who reverted to a chronology more closely following Reisner's (discussed by Hintze 1973). Further emendations have been argued by Wenig (1967; 1973) and Török (1986). Reisner's method, and his internal chronology is still accepted as fundamentally sound. The identification of some of the rulers buried in the pyramids at Gebel Barkal and their dating has recently been challenged by the present writer (Morkot 1990).

Other than that from the cemeteries there is still relatively little archaeological material published from the fifth-fourth centuries. Recent work by Heidorn on fortresses in the region of the second Cataract has demonstrated that this formed the Egyptian frontier during the 26th Dynasty and/or Persian Period (see further below).

Nubian Historical Documents

1. The inscriptions of Irike-Amanote in Temple T at Kawa. Kawa IX in the Hypostyle Hall, E.wall, S.side (Macadam 1949, 50-67; Török 1986, 195-199)

A text of 126 colums written in Egyptian hieroglyphic, recording the accession of Irike-Amanote, aged 41, as successor to Talakhamani. An earlier king, perhaps the father of Irike-Amanote, king Malowiebamani is also mentioned, but in a broken part of the text. This inscription contains the first known reference to Meroe in a Kushite text, although the site is known from archaeological material to have been a residence and burial site from the seventh century B.C. onwards. The text recounts the coronation journey from Meroe across the desert road to Napata, the defeat of various desert tribes and the coronation visit to the towns of the Dongola Reach. Macadam (1949, 57 n.59) estimated the date of the coronation based upon a number of premises which may, or may not, be correct. He arrived at a date of 415 B.C. for the accession. Wenig (1979) suggests 431-405 B.C. for the reign and Török the end of the fifth century. Much of the text's literary construction is paralleled in other coronation texts.

The other inscriptions of the king, Kawa X (Macadam 1949, 68-69), Kawa XI (Macadam 1949, 70-71) and Kawa XII (Macadam 1949, 71-72) are carved in the courtyard of Temple T. They are written with poorly formed hieroglyphs and little can be gleaned from them. Kawa XI dates to year 19 and Kawa XII to a year higher than 25.

2. The stela of year 35 of king Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864: Grimal 1981, 40-61, pls. X-XXV; most recent English language translation Budge 1912, 117-139).

Discovered in the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal (B 500) this massive grey granite stela carries a 161-line inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphic recording events of the reign of King Harsiyotef. The stela has a dedicatory scene of Harsiyotef with his mother, Queen Batahaliye and his wife Queen Atasamale. The stela is dated to the king's 35th year, but details military campaigns and religious donations of years 1,2,3,5,6,11,16,18,23 and 35. Budge ascribed the reign to the first half of the sixth century B.C., Wenig (1978) to 404-369, Török (1986, 157) to the beginning of the fourth century.

3. The stela of Nastasen (Berlin 2268: Török 1986, 199-205 no.24; cf. Budge 1912, 140-169)

Originally from Gebel Barkal, a large block of greenish-grey granite inscribed in the king's eighth year. The text is of the coronation type, but does not specifically refer back to year 1. Nastasen is depicted with his mother Queen Pelkha and his wife Queen Sakmakh. The text, in Egyptian hieroglyphic, records the king's journey from Meroe to the northern parts of the kingdom, first visiting the main sanctuaries of Amun in the Dongola reach then proceeding into Lower Nubia. Here he apparently warred with local chiefs (nomadic?) and with a ruler named *Kmbswdn* whom Schäfer identified with Kambyses, but Hintze with Khabbash (see below). A number of other campaigns are then recounted. The inscription closes with an account of the army's failure to recover gifts made by king Aspelta (probably a contemporary of Psamtik II c.590 B.C.) which had been stolen from the temples of Kawa and *Trt*, and the king's replacement of them. The many place names in this and in the Harsiyotef inscription have been discussed by Priese.

Evidence from Persia

From the later years of Darius I 'Kushiya' is included as one (usually the last) of the satrapies or tributary nations supporting the Persian throne (e.g. Kent 1943, 303 III DSe no. 29; IV Naksh-i Rustam no. 28; Walser 1966, 100-102 Abb. 5 no. 27 Persepolis 100-columned hall). It is not included in the earliest of the Darius I lists of districts at Behistun, first appearing with the list of peoples of the empire at Naksh-i Rustam. This may indicate military activities by the satrap, at least in the frontier region, or be a reflection of the Persian king's adoption of Egyptian kingship ideology.

Kush appears as the last of the tributaries of the empire in the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis (Walser 1966, pls. 30, 81, 82). Three Kushites are depicted: one bringing a box, perhaps signifying ointment or perfumes (or possibly gold dust) and the other carries an elephant tusk whilst leading an animal. The identity of this animal has been disputed, some believing it is an okapi, found only in central Africa. De Camp's (1963) suggestion that the scene was inspired by an expedition sent by Xerxes to central Africa within sight of the Ruwenzori range can be little more than fantasy. The explanation for its being an Indian Nilgai (Valdez, Tuck 1980) is equally fanciful, and most probably the animal is meant to represent a giraffe, frequently found in Egyptian paintings as part of the Kushite tribute. Any inaccuracies in the drawing may be put down to the artist's unfamiliarity with the animal, possibly having to draw from a skin rather than live beast, or simply to a lack of wall space. The inclusion of Kush within the Apadana tributary nations does not mean anything more than that a gift exchange was established between the Kushite and Persian courts. This is to be expected: the Kushite court certainly desired the luxury products of Egypt just as the Egyptian court required Kush's raw materials (see below).

In the throne-bearer and tribute scenes the Kushites are depicted wearing a long robe, sometimes shown open, covering a short kilt or tunic. The robe is fringed, sometimes open (Walser 1966, Falttafel I no. 28) and sometimes knotted at the front of the neck (Walser 1966, 100-102 Abb. 5, no. 27). In the Apadana relief the robe is tightly closed. There is little in Kushite art which can confirm this as an accurate rendering of contemporary costume.

Kush also appears as a Persian subject on the Egyptianizing statue of Darius I from Susa (Stronach 1974, 61-72), following Egypt and Libya. The figure is a black, and the name within the ring Ta-Nehesy, 'the land of the Nehesyu-Nubians' (Roaf 1974, 141-143, no.22). The same term is used in the name-ring on the Kabret stela (Posener 1936, 9, pl. V), although here the bound figure above is damaged. Ta-Nehesy is a generalized term for Nubia, and is probably to be regarded as an archaism. Both the Susa statue and the Kabret stela are products of an Egyptian workshop, and their hieroglyphic texts represent Egyptian usage. Again the evidence is not conclusive of Persian domination of any part of Nubia.

Ivories from Susa use Egyptianizing motifs (Amiet 1972, 319-324) and one has a very fine representation of a Kushite (Louvre Sb 3723: Amiet 1972, pl.VI, 7; referred to in the text as pl.IV). An Egyptian figure from the same group (seemingly a companion piece to the Kushite: Amiet 1972, pl.VI, 5) has an Achaemenid style border, and there are other 'Achaemenid' features in this Egyptianizing group of ivories.

The use of Kushite ivory is apparently confirmed by the foundation texts of Darius I from Susa (Old Persian text, DSf Kent 1943: Elamite version, Vallat 1971, 57):

> The silver and ebony were brought from Egypt ... The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Kushiya and from India and from Arachosia.

Whilst this might be considered solid evidence, Root (1979, 7-8) indicates the possibility that this might be a symbol of universal kingship. Even as such, the evidence from Persia, and Herodotus, suggests that quantities of ivory were being imported by Persia from Kush, via Egypt. The ivory had to be acquired from the central Sudan and thus from the Meroitic kings, but again this indicates nothing beyond gift-exchange. Likewise, the ebony recorded in the Susa foundation texts as coming from Egypt would ultimately have derived from the Meroitic controlled regions of the central Sudan. Kushite products would thus seem to have been sent to Persia both directly, as gifts from the Meroitic kings to the Great King, and indirectly through gift exchange with the Egyptian elites.

Herodotus on Aithiopia

Herodotus preserves the earliest of the detailed discussions of Kush in classical literature. Claiming to have travelled to Aswan, he learnt a little about the land to the south. He reports that Meroe was capital of one of the 'Aithiopian' states and passes on other information. These episodes have been extensively discussed in Nubian studies, and, as with much of the classical source material on Nubia, some has been discarded and some incorporated as 'fact' by the discipline. The over-reliance on classical materials is understandable when the original materials are so few, and the influence of the classics as an academic discipline so strong. With Greek and Latin materials we feel we are safe. Unfortunate attempts have therefore been made either to vindicate classical sources (just as Egyptologists tried to prove the Biblical record 'true') or material has been interpreted in the light of classical texts.

Aithiopia, which in classical terminology embraced Nubia and the Sudan was, until the hellenistic period, an idealised place. The utopian views of

Aithiopia found in early Greek literature also occur extensively in Herodotus' excurses on the country. One (II 29) is, like most earlier writings devoted to a discussion of the origin of the Nile. However, Herodotus occasionally passes on information which may be 'true'. He records (III 97) the gifts paid to the Persian king, and (VII 69) the Kushites in the Persian armies. Both are supported by other evidence. Herodotus is here writing more specifically within the theme of his work, the conflict between Greece and Persia: the composition of the huge invading army is thus relevant, as indeed is the extent of Persia's power. Both emphasize the achievement of the Greek (Athenian) army in fending of the invasion.

The Aithiopians on the Egyptian border did not have a regular tax imposed upon them according to Herodotus (III 97). These were the people who were subdued by Cambyses during his campaign against the 'long-lived' Aithiopians and occupied the country around 'Mount Nysa'. This is usually assumed to be an allusion to Gebel Barkal, where the city of Napata, the northern religious and administrative city of Kush, was situated. These people brought, every second year, two hundred logs of ebony, two quarts of unrefined gold, and twenty elephant tusks. Herodotus refers to the produce as 'gifts' and says that they were still paid in his own time.

At III 17-25 Herodotus narrates Cambyses' disastrous campaign against the 'long-lived' Aithiopians. Spies, accompanied by interpreters, were first sent with gifts, to find out if the 'Table of the Sun' really existed. Whilst using the old theme of the natural justice of the Aithiopians the episode also puts the Persians in a bad light. Within the context of the *Histories* as an extended narrative of the Persian war it presents a situation in which the Persian king contemplates the invasion of a country which had not been aggressive towards him, just as had happened with Greece itself. However, Cambyses is also found at the centre of a number of anti-Persian stories in the Ptolemaic period, and there is a strong suggestion that some of the other information about him reported by Herodotus falls into this same 'propagandistic' mode.

The reality of this campaign has been a constant problem within Nubian studies. The Nastasen stela seemed to confirm it, but redating of that king's reign again left the question open.

Cambyses' invasion: a tradition based on fact?

Bresciani (1985, 503) argues that in invading Nubia Cambyses was pursuing an Egyptian policy as an Egyptian king, and was inspired by the activities of the 26th Dynasty, notably Psamtik II. Bresciani, contrary to most writing on the period, assumes that the Persians did have some control of Lower Nubia. The historicity of the episode has been challenged by Hofmann and Vorbichler (1980), and by Török (1988, 125) who considers it "eine moralisch-philosophische und politische Gegenüberstellung des Bösen und des Idealen".

Herodotus says that Cambyses launched an expedition which was overtaken by disaster in the desert and the king was forced to return to Egypt. Certainly a strong tradition linking Cambyses with Aithiopia continued in the hellenistic and Roman writers. Strabo transmits two different versions of this tradition. At XVII 1,54 he says that the army was overwhelmed by a sandstorm, but at XVII 1,5 says that Cambyses marched as far as Meroe, and that the name (Meroe)

> was given by him to both the island and the city ... because his sister Meroe — some say his wife — died there.

Diodorus' account (I 33) is similar, but states that Meroe was the name of Cambyses' mother. The name *Forum Cambusis* is recorded in Pliny (VI 35,181) as one of the towns captured by Petronius in his campaign in the reign of Augustus. It is not mentioned in the other lists of towns on the Nile which Pliny gives (those of Bion and Juba), but is almost certainly to be identified with Faras.

The *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus uses conflict between a Meroitic king (Hydaspes) and the Persian satrap (Oroöndates) as the background to a romance. Whilst Heliodorus may have used the hellenistic and Roman encyclopaedists in order to create a convincingly exotic background to his narrative, his work can — despite the attempts of some scholars — hardly be used as a work of historical fact. Snowden (1970) points out the many recurrent images of Aithiopia which are included by Heliodorus. Indeed, there is much which is strongly reminiscent of the Cambyses episode of Herodotus.

There is neither an Egyptian nor Nubian source which confirms the classical tradition of Cambyses' invasion. However, recent re-examination of material from a fortress in the second Cataract region does indicate an Egyptian presence there in the Persian period (Heidorn forthcoming). Consequently it may be possible that there was some military conflict in the region during Cambyses' reign. The fall of Egypt to Persian rule may have led the Kushite kings to attempt an expansion into Lower Nubia. Beyond this we can say little at present.

Kushites in the Persian army

The army which Xerxes sent against Greece in 480-479 B.C. included many foreign contingents, one of them Aithiopian. Herodotus (VII 69) describes them, clad in leopard or lion skins, and carrying bows six feet long, and their habit of smearing their bodies half with vermilion and half with chalk, before battle. The appearance of these soldiers has been frequently compared with that of people of the southern Sudan, and they doubtless came from the southern fringes of the Meroitic sphere of influence (Török 1986, 187 [18]).

The appearance of these soldiers certainly stirred the Greek imagination, and it is from this time that a greater interest in Ethiopia is to be noted in literature, and also a great increase in the number and accuracy of representations of blacks on Greek pottery. However, it is significant that this interest apparent in fifth century B.C. literature and art is largely in the physical characteristics of the people. Otherwise the literature (other than geographical information) retains and develops the old utopian concepts. It is not until later that much ethnological information is incorporated. Practical interest in Aithiopia remained, until the hellenistic period, largely connected with the question of the Nile's source.

Greek images of blacks

A group of alabastra, apparently cheaply produced in Attica in the period immediately following the Persian War, has figures painted in black on a white ground (Beazley 1963, I 267-269; Fraser 1935; Snowden 1970, fig. 16; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 150, fig. 164). The motif is derived from scenes of a warrior arming himself. Fraser (1935) suggested that the alabastra showed a "composite oriental black" with Indian clothes. However, the features are distinctly those of African blacks, as is the hair (the ancients were quite clear that 'Asiatic Aithiopians' and Indians had straight hair).

Other pottery painting of this time shows black warriors wearing the Greek corselet and chiton, and with Greek weapons, bows and arrows, and lances, but carrying large curved shields (Snowden 1970, fig. 17; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 145, fig. 158).

The vases moulded in the form of human heads which become common from the fifth century B.C. onwards probably developed from the faience ointment jars produced at Naukratis. One of these faience jars, found in Cyprus, shows a black and Asiatic head conjoined (Snowden 1970, fig. 11). These 'plastic' vases, some with single heads, others, 'janiform', were manufactured in Greece (Vercoutter *et al* 1976, single-head aryballos, 142, fig. 153; kantharos, 143, fig. 154; janiform oinochoe, 146, fig. 159; kantharos, 147, fig. 160) and southern Italy (Snowden 1970, figs. 12-14, 27-32; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, single-head oinochoe, 172-173, figs. 208-211). Many are highly stylised, but some are realistic. Those janiform vases which combine black and white heads may perhaps reflect the interest also found in contemporary literature in the opposition of north and south, and the effects of climate etc. on the physical appearance and culture of the inhabitants. Egypt and Aithiopia were often discussed in comparison with Scythia as examples of these phenomena.

Some larger plastic vases are in the form of a crocodile attacking a realistically represented black (Snowden 1970, fig.33; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 153 fig.165; 174-175, figs.213-214 (both Apulian)). A total of twelve vases, one at least attributable to the potter Sotades (Beazley 1963 I, 773), were published by Buschor (1919), who proposed an influence from, if not origin at, Naukratis. The crocodile and black occurs as a *topos* in later classical art, and may have derived from a popular story. A second type of rhyton is in the form of a black boy with a crane (Beazley 1963 I, 773) and derives from an old *topos*: the cranes wintered in the land of the pygmies and did battle with them. This further demonstrates the influence of literary *topoi* on representations of blacks in the fifth-fourth centuries. As an artistic genre the pygmies and cranes continued into Roman times.

At about the same time as the first direct contacts with blacks, 'Aithiopians' began to be included in versions of Greek myth in pottery painting, and in drama. Aithiopian settings were also given to some of the myths (Snowden 1970, 156-160). In the Memnon and Andromeda legends the heroic figures are, at this stage, clearly Greeks transplanted to Aithiopia. Aithiopian people or settings are found for the myths of Memnon (Snowden 1970, fig. 15, 18, 19: Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 144 figs. 155-156), Busiris (Snowden 1970, fig.20; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 152-153 figs. 167-171) and Andromeda (Snowden 1970, fig. 26; Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 155 figs. 174-175).

Greek pottery from Kush

Pottery imported via Egypt from the Aegean and the Levant is attested in Nubian sites from many periods of history, and their continued appearance during the Achaemenid period is to be expected. Many of the earlier wares were storage containers or wine amphorae such as the Chian wares, probably imported via Naukratis during the 26th Dynasty (Morkot 1990). Unfortunately there has been insufficient analysis of the material from the royal cemeteries to identify further types.

Bradley notes an Attic black sherd datable to 525/500 B.C. (Bradley 1984, 199) with Aegean black glaze (sixth-second centuries B.C.) and Greek (no date) sherds from recent excavations at Meroe city. Török (1989, 94) reports an unpublished red-figure sherd from Garstang's excavations at Meroe.

The most important, and best preserved Greek vessel from Kush is the Attic plastic rhyton discovered built into the superstructure of pyramid 24 in the southern cemetery of Meroe, which was the work of the potter Sotades (Boston MFA.2286, Dunham 1963, 383, 387 fig. 212; Boardman 1980, fig. 165). The rhyton takes the form of an Amazon on horseback which serves as the support for a single-handled red-figured vase, decorated with scenes of combat between a Greek and a Persian, and a Persian on horseback spearing a prostrate Greek. A pelike by Sotades, in the form of a camel led by a

Persian and a black, was found at Memphis (Louvre CA 3825, Boardman 1980, 139, 140 fig. 166; cf. the similar vessel in Vercoutter *et al* 1976, 151, fig. 166). Further examples of his work have been discovered at Susa, Kertch and the Egyptian Delta (Beazley 1963 I, 772-773). These locations, and the decoration of the Memphis and Meroe rhyta with scenes of Persian victory over the Greeks indicates that at least some of his output was aimed specifically at the oriental market. The Meroe rhyton, judging by its decoration made for a Persian patron, may have been a diplomatic gift to a Meroitic king or official, possibly to be associated with the Kushite soldiers in the Persian army (Török 1989, esp. 118-119). Tomb S24 was dated by Hintze to the period 369-340 B.C. The rhyton had been dated 469-450 and c. 470 B.C. (for literature see Török *ibid.*). The Sotades rhyton is not, of course, representative of imports, but adds to the evidence for strong diplomatic contacts continuing.

Khabbash and Nastasen

With the fall of the 30th Dynasty, Egypt again came briefly under Persian rule (341-332 B.C.). Their authority was, however, challenged, and at some point an independent ruler was recognised as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Because of his non-Egyptian name, Khabbash has been regarded variously as a rebel satrap, an Arab, a Libyan and a Kushite (Kienitz 1953, 188). Spalinger (1978) suggests that a Libyan origin is most likely. Khabbash was recognized throughout Egypt and in his titulary closely associated himself with Memphis. Various dates have been proposed for his rule, the most probable coinciding with the death of Artaxerxes III (338/337 B.C.) and the accession of Darius III (336/335 B.C.) (Spalinger 1978).

The stela of Nastasen recounts the campaign of the king in Lower Nubia against a chieftain whose name was read as *Kmbswdn*. Schäfer pointed out that he was the only one of Nastasen's enemies whose name was written with the *wr*-determinative, and that he must therefore have been a very important chieftain — in his interpretation Cambyses. For this reason Schäfer gave Nastasen an early dating.

Hintze re-read the name, replacing *k* with *kh*, the *m* with *b* (on Meroitic analogies), and produced the reading *khbbs-wdn*. Hintze argued that *wdn* was for *wten* or *wte*, the Meroitic equivalent of *di ʿnh*, 'given life'. This epithet is, however, far from certain, and Hintze's reading as 'Khabbash', 'given life' is unlikely. Hintze's interpretation has been challenged by Katznelson (1966) and by Spalinger (1978). There is little reason to doubt the reading of the name as *Kmbswdn* (Kambasuden). As the text is written in quite good Egyptian hieroglyphic it seems most unlikely that the scribe would have rendered the names of either Cambyses or Khabbash incorrectly. Indeed, (ignoring the chronological problems for a moment) had Nastasen defeated either Egyptian ruler he would have expressed this quite clearly using the form *nsw bity*, or, should he not wish to acknowledge them as possessing a title he himself used, some locution, such as *nsw*. He surely would have enclosed the name within a cartouche. Spalinger (1978, 147) further emphasises the 'grave problems' of Hintze's identification, notably that Nastasen seized the lands of Kambasuden, along with his cattle, which can hardly be consistent with an Egyptian king. Spalinger lends further support to the doubts already expressed by Katznelson (1966) over the identification, although it continues to be accepted in Egyptian studies (Török; 1987, 151; 1988, 163-164; 1989, 70-71).

The chronological position of Khabbash has influenced the dating of Nastasen, just as the earlier identification with Cambyses placed Nastasen very early. Török (1988, 163-164) regards the synchronism of Nastasen and Khabbash as a *Fixpunkt*, and the year 1 of Nastasen as 336 or 335 B.C. The inscription is unclear as to whether the campaign was carried out in year 1 — all that is certain is that it was before year 8, the date of the stela itself.

The Egyptian-Kushite relationship

The present writer has proposed a model for the political geography of Nubia in the New Kingdom as a basis for reconsidering the nature and conduct of the relationship of Nubia with Egypt (Morkot 1987). There is evidence to extend this model through the Third Intermediate Period and beyond the 25th Dynasty (Morkot 1990). The material available indicates that the basis of the Egyptian-Nubian relationship remained very much the same from the New Kingdom until late Roman times, and this perhaps sees some confirmation in Heidorn's re-assessment of material from the second Cataract forts. Given the scarcity of indigenous historical documents in Nubia this model offers a *possible* framework for understanding the relationship. It is based upon the available evidence, and analogies with other cultures.

Central to this relationship is 'trade' which, within the context of the Egyptian-Nubian sphere is largely gift-exchange between rulers. As this writer argued for the Third Intermediate Period and post-25th Dynasty, it is certain that even in times when it is supposed that there were very limited contacts between Egypt and Nubia the Egyptians still required the 'luxuries' controlled by the Meroitic kings. With Persian domination of Egypt, the Meroitic rulers doubtless established diplomatic contact immediately in an attempt to ward off invasion of their own territory. Meroe was one of the neighbouring states of the Persian empire, and as such, must have continued to maintain some diplomatic contact with the Great King. Such contact must form the background to the embassies recorded visiting Alexander at Babylon — as successor to Darius III — if not the story of the Persian ambassador sent to Aithiopia.

The motifs of Kushites on the ivories from Susa, whilst not necessarily indicative of a Sudanese origin for the ivory itself, are at least suggestive. More significant are the Susa foundation deposit texts, Herodotus, and the Apadana relief. These sources combined give good reason to suppose that the Persians were acquiring significant quantities of ivory and ebony from Kush, either directly or via Egypt. Certainly the Persians also had access to ivory and types of ebony in India (itself evidenced by the Susa texts), but the contacts with Kush were doubtless significant. Kush posed a potential military threat to the Egyptian border — and Egypt itself was a volatile dominion. It was beneficial to the Kushite rulers themselves to foster contacts with the ruling power in Egypt in order to acquire the luxuries of the Mediterranean world.

Nubia in the Achaemenid period, historical synopsis

The indigenous sources allow only a very basic historical framework to be established. The king-list is little more than that, even knowledge of the family relationships during this period is limited (Dunham, Macadam 1949). The three historical inscriptions give a little more information for those reigns and indicate that the Kushite rulers constantly had to establish their authority within the country. There was a continual problem from nomadic peoples who raided the settlements, particularly those of the Dongola Reach, but also in the region of Meroe itself (Irike-Amanote ll.5-8, Macadam 1949, 51). For some time such a tribal chief seems to have been able to establish himself in Meroe City (Harsiyotef Stela ll.99-104).

The invasion of Psamtik II (593 B.C.) was seen by many writers as the point when the 'capital' was transferred from Napata (the Gebel Barkal region) to Meroe in the central Sudan, and contacts with Egypt were mostly broken off. The evidence for this was largely circumstantial and scholars today question the very notion of a 'capital' in the context of the Kushite state. There were a number of major royal residence cities, and given the difficult nature of the whole country — the northern part Nile Valley, the southern part savannah land, the two parts separated by the desert — the kings may well have had to be in continual progress throughout their domains to keep control.

The reign of Psamtik II certainly marked a change in the official Egyptian attitude towards Kush. The names of the 25th Dynasty rulers were erased, and there is now reason to believe the 26th Dynasty kings re-established their frontier at the second Cataract. The campaign of Psamtik in Nubia may have been a response to an attempted Kushite invasion of Egypt, but this remains uncertain. Despite this change of attitude, there is no reason to think that the economic relationship changed.

With Persian rule (525-404 B.C.) the Kushite-Egyptian relationship seems to have continued as before. The evidence, albeit slender, suggests that the frontier may have been maintained at the second Cataract; that the Kushites sent ivory and ebony to the Persian court, and that during the campaigns against Greece (480 B.C.), Kushite troops formed an element within the Persian army. In return the Meroitic rulers received luxury commodities and manufactures.

During the first half of the fourth century, contemporary with the period of Egyptian independence from Persia during the 28th, 29th (404-379 B.C.) and 30th Dynasties (379-342 B.C.), the Meroitic kings Harsiyotef and Nastasen were militarily active in Lower Nubia. That they established strong contacts with Egypt is suggested by their use of the full five-element Egyptian royal titulary which shows some contemporary influence (as opposed to the re-use of names used by earlier Meroitic rulers).

Diodorus (XVI 51,1-2), derived from Agatharchides, maintains that the last pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty, Nekhthorheb (Nectanebo II), fled to Lower Nubia (about 342 B.C.). Bresciani (1985, 525) suggests this may have been in the hope of bringing Kushite support against the Persians. The story cannot be substantiated, but the later 'nationalist' literature of the Ptolemaic period calls for the salvation of Egypt by a king coming from the south. Some scholars have seen in this a reference to Meroe as a supporter and upholder of the pharaonic traditions, and, in a more practical sense, of the revolts against the Ptolemies in the Thebaid.

Török (1989, 70) points out that Nectanebo's flight is analogous with an episode in Manetho recording the flight of an earlier king, Amenophis, from the Hyksos to Aithiopia. He regards both stories as exemplars of a *topos* in late period literature which treat Kush as the supporter of Egyptian tradition and the true enemy of the foreign conqueror.

Whilst Hintze's identification of the Kambasuden of the Nastasen inscription with the independent Egyptian ruler Khabbash, during the last phase of Persian rule in Egypt, has been challenged, it is certain that the Meroitic kings were militarily active in Lower Nubia at that time. With the fall of Egypt to Alexander of Macedon (332 B.C.) and his further campaigns in Asia the Meroitic rulers may have seen an opportunity to expand their influence northwards.

A delegation from the Aithiopians (i.e. Kushites) is included in the lists of Arrian (VII 15,4-5) and Diodorus (XVII 113,1-2) amongst those which awaited Alexander on his return to Babylon in the spring of 323 B.C. These embassies included the representatives of various nations on the borders of the Persian empire, including Libyans, Celts, Iberians and Carthaginians.

Such an embassy from the Meroitic ruler would doubtless have been sent to acknowledge the new ruler of Egypt, to renew commodity exchange and perhaps in the hope of fending off an invasion of his own country. It is reported that Alexander wished to go to Aithiopia, to visit the kingdom of the Trojan hero Memnon; but he was also interested in the source of the Nile. An actual diplomatic exchange may be the origin of the story preserved in the later source, known as pseudo-Callisthenes, which records the letters exchanged between Alexander and a Queen, Kandake. However, it is possible this episode may derive solely from the novel-in-letters, or 'fabricated letters', genres of the late hellenistic period, both of which influenced the development of the Alexander Romance.

Alexander's death put an end to any plans for an invasion of Kush, and the wars of the Successors centred on the Mediterranean. Ptolemy I's securing of Egypt almost certainly involved activity in the border region of Aswan. There is some indication that he did have contact with Meroe, but it is not yet clear whether this took the form of a military expedition in Lower Nubia. The increasing luxury of the Alexandrian court, and its development as the major centre of learning in the Mediterranean world, stimulated an interest in Kush not only as the source of luxury goods and exotic animals but also as an object of scientific and ethnographic study. Strong contacts were established very early in the Ptolemaic period as is amply demonstrated by the large quantities of high quality imported goods found in the royal and aristocratic burials at Meroe. These contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt led ultimately to the Meroitic re-occupation of Lower Nubia and the full flowering of Meroitic civilization.

Table 1. Rulers of Kush 5th-4th centuries B.C.

The list of rulers follows Reisner's numbering of generations, and the dates of Wenig (1978). These dates cannot be considered as anything more than the merest approximation of the reign length and date B.C., and should, consequently, be treated cum *grano salis*. Török (1986), more realistically, gives only generalised indications of chronology, but these are roughly similar to Wenig's more precise dates. With the exception of the unnamed ruler at generation 24 buried at el-Kurru these kings were interred in pyramids in the royal cemetery at Nuri (Dunham 1955).

Generation	Name	Pyramid	Date
14	Amani-natake-lebte	Nu.10	538-519
15	Karkamani	Nu.7	519-510
16	Amaniastabarqo	Nu.2	510-487
17	Siaspiqo	Nu.4	487-468
18	Nasakhma	Nu.19	468-463
19	Malowiebamani	Nu.11	463-435
20	Talakhamani	Nu.16	435-431
21	Irike-Amanote	Nu.12	431-405
22	Baskakeren	Nu.17	405-404
23	Harsiyotef	Nu.13	404-369
24	*Unknown king*	Kurru 1	369-353
25	Akhratan	Nu.14	353-340
26	Amanibakhi*	Nu.?	340-335
27	Nastasen	Nu.15	335-315

*Török (1986, 157) places Amanibakhi at generation 27, after Nastasen.

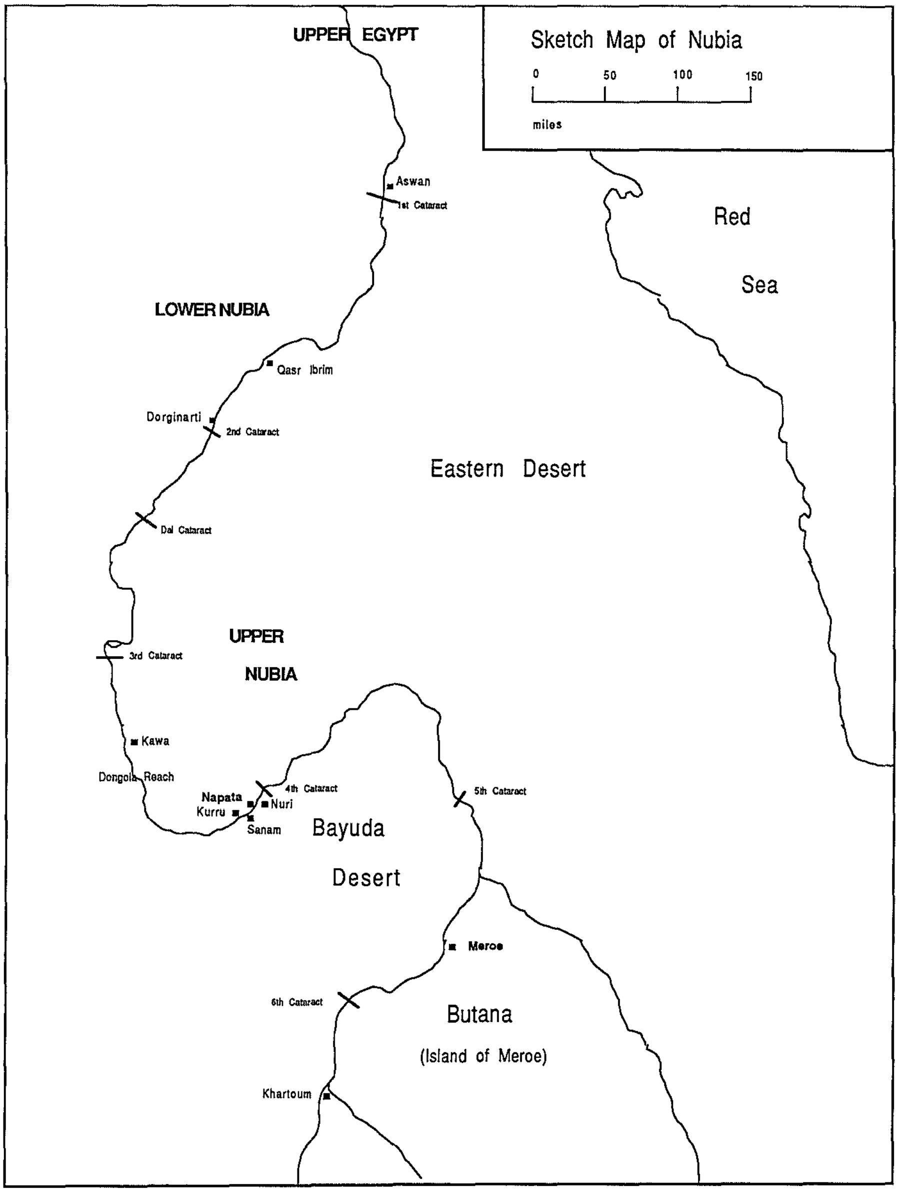
UPPER EGYPT
Sketch Map of Nubia
0
50
100
150
miles
Aswan
1st Cataract
Red
Sea
LOWER NUBIA
Qasr Ibrim
Dorginarti
2nd Cataract
Eastern Desert
Dal Cataract
UPPER
NUBIA
3rd Cataract
Kawa
Dongola Reach
4th Cataract
5th Cataract
Napata
Nuri
Kurru
Sanam
Bayuda
Desert
Meroe
6th Cataract
Butana
(Island of Meroe)
Khartoum

Fig. 1. Nubia.

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